Diary and Notes
of
Mian Fazl-i-Husain

Edited by

DR. WAHEED AHMAD

Research Society of Pakistan

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PREFACE

The Research Society of Pakistan has already published *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain* and now presents Mian Fazl-i-Husain's Diary and Notes.

The Diary starts from 1901, but after only three entries its continuity is broken; it restarts from April, 1930, and continues to the year 1936. The Notes commence from December, 1930, and end in 1936.

The Diary apart from giving details of Mian Fazl-i-Husain's family life, relates some important political issues as well. The Notes also express Mian Fazl-i-Husain's views on some burning topics of the day, such as,

(1) Muslim position at the Round Table Conferences.

(2) Points of Muslim dissatisfaction with the Congress and the Government, 1931.

(3) Gandhi's Tactics against Muslims.

(4) Muslim Representation in Provincial and Central Legislatures.

(5) Social and Political Conditions of Muslims in Bengal.

(6) On Sikhs.

(7) Mosque of the Shahidganj Area.

(8) On Pamphlet "Punjab Politics and Unionism in the Punjab," 1936.

Mian Fazl-i-Husain remained a controversial figure during his political career. The Diary and Notes throw considerable fresh light on this aspect of his life.
January 7, 1978.

DR. M. JAHANGIR KHAN
Director,
Research Society of Pakistan,

INTRODUCTION

For the background story of the political career of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, I would refer the reader to my introductory note to the *Fazl-i-Husain Letters* recently published. In the following brief note, let me mention the position which the Fazl-i-Husain diaries occupy in the historical literature of the period. The correspondence, the public statements and the political notes intended for circulation are all meant for public and other people's consumption and are directed to persuade them to the author's point of view. Therefore, they may over-emphasize a point or conceal a truth and, in any case, they do not highlight the exclusively private environment in which the writer was forced to operate. From this point of view, the diaries occupy a special place in the written historical records. We have seen unknown and undiscoverable occurrences brought to light through diaries.

In case of Fazl-i-Husain, one must note that he, like any other writer of a private diary, never intended, or could even foresee, that his private writings would become known to others, least of all published in a book form. We do not know if he had any special purpose in writing the diaries. Perhaps, they could serve him as a memory or reference in future. He himself says nothing about it except that he took much care to write them regularly. What one sees in them is the personal record in which he addresses himself and narrates his problems of social, political and personal nature. For example, how he was harassed by his relatives and friends, how his health failed him, how intensely concerned he was for the national issues and what he really wished to do about them.

I am glad that the diaries exist and am thankful to Mian Azim Husain, Fazl-i-Husain's son, for giving me his generous permission to publish them without excision. They relate to the very crucial period in modern Indian politics, especially relating to the affairs of

the Indian Muslims in which Fazl-i-Husain was right at the centre. We learn in them Fazl-i-Husain's sincerity about issues and persons in the midst of his completely broken health and exhausted physical endurance. A study of the diaries is bound to enhance the value of his work in public estimation and would only confirm what is recorded in the earlier volume containing his other documents.

I owe special thanks to the Research Society of Pakistan and its Director, Dr. M. Jahangir Khan, for undertaking to publish them.

Waheed Ahmad

6 March 1977

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11 November 1901, Monday.

....

was under the Arms Act. There was no commentary in the Act and for two hours I was in an awful plight. I had no Notifications or Legislation of the years 1895-1900. I thought of asking for help either from Nasrullah Khan or from Rai Banarsi Das. I was just on the point of doing so, but my self-dependence saved me from making that mistake. At last I found out the law in Rattigan's Act applicable to the Punjab.

———

12 November 1901, Tuesday.

I have actually won the case about which I was so uneasy only *yesterday. I got Rs. 15/-* for it, and considering that I was only for 5 minutes in the D.C.'s court it is not at all a bad bargain.

Got another case. I believe I will soon work up a good practice for myself even in Sialkot. I have got Rs. 57/- for fees up-to-date, and hope by the end of the month I will be in receipt of another 100. That will be Rs. 150/- for my first month, and if I succeed in getting Rs. 200/- before the Christmas Vacation I will be quite satisfied, for then I will have a chance of beginning the new Year with Rs. 300/- and raise it to Rs. 500/- before the Summer Season. It appears rather difficult to get beyond Rs. 500/- per month. As soon as I begin *to get* Appeal Work, I hope to make considerable progress. I think Rs. 40/- *for the Divisional Court* and from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 15/- in the District Court are the proper though modest fees for me. Rs. 10/- is the minimum payable in advance. Of course a case which can be settled in one *Peshi* is very good and a small fee like Rs. 10/- to 15/- may be acceptable for it. If the case is one which is likely to drag on for months, it should not be accepted for less than Rs. 50/-. I should have big Criminal Cases Rs. 20/- in advance and Rs. 20/- afterwards. Three or four cases would pay up my monthly expenses.

I had a letter from Ghulam Bhik. I will attach him to myself, and with the help of a few more colleagues establish a Policy of my own and soon install myself their Leader. These chaps want the initiative and with God's help I will supply that. If I only succeed in working up a good practice here, saving some money say Rs. 5000/- and then going to Lahore, establish myself there and getting a good practice in the Chief Court and other Courts, and to establish my School of Politics of Lecturing and achieving National Leadership. If I win honours and gather up money as *old Rattigan* did, I may one day move to London and try my Luck there. All the time I have made up my mind to keep myself in contact with Politics. I will be always up-to-date, read as much as I can and think more. My ambition is to be the Recognised Leader of the Indian Musalmans, and some day to sit in the House of Commons as the Right Honourable Gentleman from the Punjab.

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13 November 1901, Wednesday.

There was another holiday.

Received مخزن from my friend Sh. Abdul Qadir. It appears to be a nice monthly Journal of Urdu Literature. I have nothing to say against it, and much can be said for it. Of course it falls short of my ideal Magazine. I should like it to contain Descriptive, Humorous, and Character Sketches separately, and to devote a part of it to Reviewing and Criticism. However it is a good start, and I wish it a brilliant success with all my heart. In fact I hope to devote some time in getting ready some subject for it.[1]

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1 April 1930, Tuesday.

Reached Delhi. Secretariat of His Excellency Viceroy received me at the railway station. Staying at 6, King Edward Road. Addressed Council of State meeting which was warmly welcomed by most of the members present.

Saw several members, arranged for voting. Had a nice letter from His Excellency Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency appreciative of my work.

1. Only two pages of the Diary for 1901 are available. After 1901 the regular Diary again begins with effect from 1st April, 1930.

Asghari's marriage—Calvert tried to be obstructive, but, on His Excellency's interference matters are improving; but the question of Court of Wards order is not yet settled.

This is a nice house, and I am sure we will be comfortable in it next cold weather.

---

2 April 1930, Wednesday.

Saw His Excellency, and the following are for the time being settled :

(*i*) I am to be incharge of Education, Health and Lands.

(*ii*) I have to go to the League of Nations, and of the members I am the only one in office. Bajpai has been asked for as Secretary by Bikaner. I have agreed to let him go.

(*iii*) I am to put up statements of policy regarding Frontier and regarding Shahid Ganj controversy.

(*iv*) Executive Council meeting tomorrow. I have had talks with Haig (Home Member), Ramchandra, Bajpai and some Council of State members.

Saw Shaukat Ali. He wants passport for South Africa. Had quite a busy day.

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6 April 1930, Sunday.

Left Lahore for Simla. Nasim accompanied me as he is under training.

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7 April 1930, Monday.

Reached Simla. It is bitterly cold.

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8 April 1930, Tuesday.

Saw Haig, Noyce, Bajpai & others.

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9 April 1930, Wednesday.

Had a meeting of the Executive Council though Mitter is not in Simla.

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10 April 1930, Thursday.

Left for Lahore by road/motor.

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11 April 1930, Friday.

Reached Lahore. Safdar has helped them mostly in the matter of the documents executed etc. They were in perfect order.

Was busy the whole day. In the evening fancy lighting arrangements were perfect, decorations superb and dinner very good. Every thing passed off nicely. There was shortage of food towards the end but it was made good.

---

12 April 1930, Saturday.

Nikah performed. Breakfast given, supplies were more than enough and a good deal of surplus was left. *Doli* was sent off in the evening after the grand reception which was attended by nearly 600. I broke down in the evening, a sort of collapse.

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13 April 1930, Sunday.

Was busy the whole day getting things packed for Simla. An urgent case *re* East Africa brings Joint Secretary to Lahore.

---

14 April 1930, Monday.

Sent off luggage van to Simla and got ready to leave by the night Express.

They gave me an excellent send off at the Railway Station at which a number of MLC's were present having come from long distances. Asghari, Nawaz and Sardar Begum came to see us off and were in the saloon up to Moghalpura where two cars were waiting for them to take them home.

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15 April 1930, Tuesday.

We reached Simla early by road/motor, had our breakfast and set to work in getting the house in order.

Mrs. Ramchandra is helping a great deal. The house is improved a great deal. It is a big house and so demands very great attention.

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16 April 1930, Wednesday.

Went to office. Had talks with Noyce, Bajpai and others. Have asked Lincoln to put my office room in order as it is rather shabby. Was very busy the whole day.

Sir Kurma Reddi saw me—had a long talk with him.

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17 April 1930, Thursday.

Saw Raza Ali. Saw Lady Irwin Girls School mistress about my girls.

Looking for house for Asghari.

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18 April 1930, Friday.

Had an Executive Council meeting. My wife is worrying about Akhtari's marriage. The idea is to have the marriage before the end of May and then the boy to go to England and return after three years. I do not like it, but in view of my failing health am tolerating the idea and may have to give in.

---

19 April 1930, Saturday.

Am kept very busy.

I am using old curtains but coverings have to be made and small screens too will have to be new. It will mean nearly Rs. 1000/- .

Terms of Akhtari regarding marriage as compared with Asghari will be :

	Asghari	Akhtari
Mehr	1,00,000	50,000
Pocket Money	300	200
House	50,000	?
Jewelry	10,000	10,000

There was an Executive Council meeting.

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20 April 1930, Sunday.

Venue of Akhtari's marriage is very hotly disputed—Lahore or Simla? If it is at Simla, Their Excellencies will be requested to come and there will have to be a very grand reception.

---

21 April 1930, Monday.

Another Executive Council meeting.

Saw Raza Ali. Mrs. Ramchandra is helping a great deal. Nasim left for Lahore for his departmental exam, in Land Revenue.

Some MLA's are here and I saw yesterday—Ismail (U.P.), Anwarul Azim (Bengal) and Mohammad Suhrawardy (Council of State). They are all competent and capable men and it is a pity are not made much of.

There were hail storms in the afternoon and the cold has returned.

---

22 April 1930, Tuesday.

Went to office, had chat with Noyce. Went to tailors for a morning suit and for my uniform—overall (pant) needs a new lace, ½ an inch wider than the present one ; coat quite a new breast. Hat —quite new base etc.

It is very cold again.

House is getting on, but we are still far from completion.

Dinner at Viceregal Lodge, came back at 11 p m.

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23 April 1930, Wednesday.

Members' dinner at chalet. I went in my Mess dress by mistake. It should have been ordinary coat and black tie. H. E. brought us all back in his big car.

News of rioting in Peshawar. Telephoned to Lahore to detain Nasim and his wife. Girls are quite well and we have nice evening together. I have not yet done anything about their education but the time-table I have made for them is adhered to by them—they are very nice and loving girls.

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24 April 1930, Thursday.

Nasim had left for Peshawar and at Gujrat was informed and sent back to Lahore where he reached safely. Went to office and had a talk with Joint Secretary Bajpai. He wants to stay as J. S. if the post continues.

I have not yet succeeded in getting a house for Asghari.

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25 April 1930, Friday.

Had Executive Council meeting from 10.30 to 1.15. Peshawar, general disobedience movement, and Press Ordinance and later Round Table Conference in London.

Sir Bhupendra Mitter left today, came to see me and I saw him off at the Railway station.

Mr Padshah, Council of State leaders came to see me. Raza Ali also did, as Patel has resigned.

I am feeling very weak, am losing weight and for some days have been feeling some pain in my stomach. With house not yet finished, with my wife making a mess of the terms of nikah of Akhtari, I feel quite at sea and unsettled.

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26 April 1930, Saturday

Another Executive Council meeting in the afternoon. Discussed Gandhi, Press Ordinance and Peshawar. I put the Peshawar case strongly on the ground that the reports were incomplete, sketchy and mystified rather than enlightened one, and a telegram of enquiry was sent.

It is still cold and chilly. An occasional shower undoes what a hot sun likes to do during several hours.

Asghari is coming with Nasim.

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27 April 1930, Sunday.

Spent the whole day at Viceregal Lodge—Press Ordinance, communique regarding Peshawar, letter to the Secretary of State regarding Peshawar, Gandhi and the general situation. English Press in India is no better than the Vernacular Press, when it comes to

exaggerating the attacks on Europeans. It is a good thing I had not arranged to go on a picnic. Patel resigned and his resignation has been accepted.

28 April 1930, Monday.

Asghari and Nasim came today. Shamim did not come. So we constitute now the majority of the family. My wife, Naim, Azim, Shamim are in Peshawar and I think Naim will be here in a week or so; and Azim will finish his Exam on the 12th. He can come at once if he likes, for he has worked hard at his Exam.

Had a long interview with H. E. and discussed a good many points, and quite satisfactorily.

29 April 1930, Tuesday.

A long Executive Council meeting. The deed is done—Gandhi will be arrested on the 4th May. The whole Council excepting me was of this opinion. My dissent was due to the reason I gave them and which H. E. summarised, but said he felt they should take the plunge.

Press Act they are going to use, so to speak, retrospectively which is wrong. I pointed this out, but the Law Member did not support me.

As to Peshawar they were for martial law. I stood in the way and they have desisted from suggesting it to the Chief Commissioner.

30 April 1930, Wednesday.

Safdar came with Md. Hayat's letter saying he agrees to *Mehr*, property, etc., but he, I understood, was grumbling and this is disquieting. In any case during the absence of the boy, Akhtari cannot live with the boy's family, so is there any sense in the marriage, I have asked my wife to come and we will discuss this affair tomorrow. I personally incline to breaking off, both sides free to act as they like. If by any chance both are free three years hence, the matter can be re-opened.

1 May 1930, Thursday.

My wife and Md. Nawaz came today. I had an Executive Council meeting, so did not see them till in the afternoon.

We discussed about Akhtari's marriage and came to the conclusion that the matter of the house be dropped and *Mehr* and pocket money reduced, but in all other respects the drafts remain as they were and if they are not acceptable to Nawab Md. Hayat or his son, the matter be dropped.

I am not very well, and I must get well and strong, so I must regulate work, life, diet etc.

---

2 May 1930, Friday.

Another meeting of the Executive Council. We decided about Peshawar, Gandhi, Round Table Conference, etc. I am not yet familiar with the atmosphere of the meetings, but I express my views right enough, but they do not seem to be in accord with the mode of thinking and the decisions the Council has been arriving at in the past.

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3 May 1930, Saturday.

Had another Executive Council meeting. We discussed Peshawar and I told them plainly that they were entering upon a course of repression and suppression which has very evil consequences. Already their covering letter of the Press Ordinance has brought about bad results. They were profuse in their appreciation of this viewpoint, but the power of Government had to be restored and so on. After nearly four hours meeting we dispersed. Things are not going on as one would like them to go—it is all confusion and chaos.

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4 May 1930, Sunday.

Occupation of Peshawar by the military has passed off without any serious mishap. I have been most anxious. I cleared my arrears today, and feel happier about it. Now I must regularise my exercise, my diet and my work.

Safdar telephoned that Md. Hayat wants the condition about second marriage to be modified. I refused. Then my wife rang me in a very great excitement, but I refused to give in. If the matter is dropped, I will be rather glad, for somehow or other I am not at all enthusiastic about it.

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5 May 1930, Monday.

Had a long discussion with the Viceroy. He is veering round to my view—as to holding the Assembly Session, as to not being very hard in dealing with the Civil Disobedience Movement, and if during the next few days confirmation of my views takes place, he will attach more weight to my views than he does at present not knowing me.

Bajpai is working well, and I show him every consideration. There is no reason why he should not get on in this Department. I want work and a fair amount of discipline. Anyone giving this has my support.

---

6 May 1930, Tuesday.

Haig came to consult me about the Shia's Memorandum to H. E. and H. E.'s draft reply. I agreed with him that H. E.'s draft was not at all suitable.

Then we talked about Reforms for Peshawar and I think he will not oppose my attempt to get the Frontier started upon a course of Reforms. I believe Schuster will also be helpful.

Had a visit from Shamasdin, a Punjabi who has lived in East Africa a long time. He confidentially raised the question of Muslims and non-Muslims in Kenya. I asked him not to raise it and not let anyone else raise it.

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7 May 1930, Wednesday.

Have settled down to regular time-table—

5 a. m.—salts or soda bicarb and salt

6 a.m.—tea

7 a.m.—cachet

8 a.m. to 10—bath, dress, walk, breakfast, creosote capsule

10 to 1—correspondence work and office

1 to 3—milk and fruit, rest and prayers

3 to 4—work and correspondence

4 to 5—tea, etc., capsule

5 to 6—work

6 to 7—papers, calcium

7 to 8—work

8 to 9.30—dinner, etc.

paraffin, pills

Later I will add walk at 6 p. m.

———

8 May 1930, Thursday.

Members' dinner at the C.C. [Commander-in-Chief], H.E. attending. I had long talks with Schuster and Bhore and then H. E. brought back four of us in his car. My house is very conveniently situated for the use of car.

Sent a note on Reforms in the Frontier Province to Haig to be laid before H. E.

I have settled our programme of going to Lahore for Akhtari's marriage.

Gandhi's arrest has led to some disturbances in Maharashtra. *Peshawar* is still an enigma. I am waiting for replies.

Harkishan Lal's son came to see me. He is returning to Lahore leaving his wife and children here.

———

9 May 1930, Friday.

Had a long talk with S. Muthiah Mudaliar, Minister Madras, about Federal and Central Dominium Status for Provinces before for India ; Gandhi's civil disobedience, centralisation, Self Government and many other things. He is frightened of the strong action taken by Government and feels it has created bitterness.

Saw Mr. Latifi of the Stores Department, a brother of Alma Latifi.

The girls and boys have been to Mrs. Ram Chandra to tea.

There is a great deal of demand for invitations to Id At Home on the 10th and the 11th. I have to have two groups on the 11th. Total invitations have gone up to 150.

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10 May 1930, Saturday.

We had Id prayers. Idgah is slowly improving—level space larger, better levelled and the gathering better disciplined. Quite a large number waited for the Khutba to be over.

At my Id At Home nearly 55 guests—Muslim officials and clerks—were present. This is the first time that clerks were asked to come in a social gathering. They felt very happy and satisfied, I could see.

Nasim and Nawaz dined with Abdulla Khan of Hoti Mardan at Cecil, while the girls and I dined very quietly and sparingly at home.

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11 May 1930, Sunday.

Issued invitations to friends and relatives regarding Akhtari's marriage. It took quite a long time. Started at 6 a.m. and went on right till evening.

At the second Id At Home, there were two batches, one of 55 and one of 25, and it went off very nicely. Everything was in plenty and no display of extravagance.

Md. Ali is coming tomorrow to see the Viceroy regarding Gandhi. Nawaz and Asghari left for Lahore. Asghari is quite happy and satisfied, though of course she is not settled down by any means. I will bring her back from Lahore.

---

12 May 1930, Monday.

Md. Ali came and stayed with me and waited upon H. E. He professed that he came as a peacemaker between Government and

Gandhi, but really he just wanted to give out that he had interviewed H. E. just as Sapru had interviewed H. E. He had no suggestions to make.[1]

I had a long interview with H. E.—East African law, Peshawar Inquiry, Gandhi, Gujrat, Round Table.

Md. Ali left in the evening. Sholapur is out of control, some policemen burnt to death and police exterminated, and the mill hands in possession, arson, etc.

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13 May 1930, Tuesday.

Had another Executive Council meeting—Peshawar enquiry, two High Court judges, one European, one Muslim. For Reforms, Home

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1. See enclosure of Lord Irwin (*Viceroy*) to Wedgwood Benn (Secretary of State for India), 14 May 1930, India Office Library, *Halifax Collection*, MSS. Eur. C. 152/6, entitled 'Note [written by Lord Irwin] of an *interview* with Maulana Mahomed Ali on Monday, *May 12th, 1930*. According to this note, the Maulana brought to the Viceroy's notice :
   - (i) the 'disturbed Muslim feeling' at government action in Peshawar,
   - (ii) the 'waiting game' played by the Hindu Mahasabha leaders 'in the anticipation that the Simon Report would be unfavourable to the Muslims and then they (the Hindus) could squeeze them (the Muslims) better than now',
   - (iii) his own inclination towards general electorates 'with reserved seats, subject to the condition that no one should be elected who could not poll a third of the votes of his own community and a fifth of the votes of the other community'. [This *scheme* he *later presented* publicly at the Round Table Conference.],
   - (iv) and asked for the release of all civil disobedience prisoners after the movement was called off and suggested that the Round Table Conference discuss the grant of dominion status to India.

   Before leaving for England to participate in the Round Table Conference he wrote a long letter to the Viceroy informing him of serious nature of his illness and yet stating his determination to proceed to England to demand India's 'birth right' to 'self-determination', at the Conference. Muhammad Ali to Lord Irwin, 11 September 1930, India Office Library, Halifax, MSS. Eur. C. 125/25.

Member and H. E. seem to be agreeable but one cannot say till the thing is done.

Delhi affair is complicated by Gurdwara incident as the mob stoned the police from that vantage ground.

Gandhi in jail is quiet yet, but he must be concocting some trouble or other and in the meantime *hartals* etc., create opportunities of conflict and consequent irritation, rioting, arrests, etc.—the usual rounds.

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14 May 1930, Wednesday.

The girls left for Lahore this afternoon. There was another Executive Council meeting wherein Sholapur Martial Law Ordinance was agreed to. This is the place where three Muslim policemen were soaked in kerosene oil and burnt. Two High Court Judges for Peshawar Inquiry agreed to—one a Muslim—this is to my credit. Dr. Suleman will be the Muslim one and he is a capable and independent minded man.

Saw several people, and then got through a good deal of work in the evening.

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15 May 1930, Thursday.

Members' Dinner. Mitter says in Calcutta the agitators have established their prestige chiefly through capturing corporation. That is a pity. He says Swadeshi is in fact farce especially in the matter of cigarettes. He gave very strong condemnatory stories of Patel's amours in Simla and in Delhi. Then we discussed Mrs. Naidu. Later the Garhwali regiment's affair in Peshawar disturbances. The draft communique of Field Marshal Birdwood, C.-in-C., was open to serious objections and all of us opposed it. He was very persistent, but agreed to refer it to H. E. the Viceroy.

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16 May 1930, Friday.

Had a busy time about the South African Union's rushing a Bill affecting Indian traders within a few days. We had protested and asked H. E. to send a telegram to the Governor-General and sent instruction to our agent.

Sikander Hayat and I motored to Kalka. We had a chat about many things affecting Punjab Muslims in various departments. He seems to have been poorly lately and wonder if he will be able to work hard because he is not well equipped and so has to work harder. We dined and then separated.

———

17 May 1930, Saturday.

A very busy day. Saw Majid Athar, Safdar, Mazhar Ali and many others about Peshawar. Asked Muslim Leaguers and Anjuman to pass Resolutions and ask for Deputations. Advised them to be active. Saw Chhotu Ram, Proprietor and Editor of *Muslim Outlook*, Editor *Inqilab*, and many others.

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18 May 1930, Sunday.

Breakfast passed off nicely. The arrangements made were excessive with the result that a great deal of food was left over. It was sent to Akhtari, some to orphanage and the rest for Dinner.

Afternoon was devoted to seeing visitors, and in the evening went to Muhammad Hayat's reception in connection with the marriage. Met a lot of people.

Left in the evening taking children with me. Asghari has remained behind. Naim is also staying for a short while.

———

19 May 1930, Monday.

Reached Simla at 11-30. Waited upon H. E. at 2-30 and was with him till after 4 as he wanted to talk to me a great deal. We discussed-

(*a*) South African legislation regarding Indian traders.

(*b*) Round Table Conference personnel.

(*c*) Organising Muslim public opinion against Civil Disobedience.

(*d*) Peshawar.

(*e*) Gujrat.

(*f*) Sholapur.

H. E. said two things, both unusual, which may be some indication of the good opinion he is beginning to hold of me—

1. I may have to go to the Frontier Province to put the Chief Commissioner wise and bring peace to the province.
2. He will cable to the Secretary of State to cancel my going to Geneva this year.

---

20 May 1930, Tuesday.

Felt out of sorts and had temperature 99 or so, but was able to work. Took the precaution of not going out, but did the work.

H. E. wanted me to......[?] write to Sir *Malcolm Hailey* regarding Round Table Conference and noted points to be discussed with Sir Geoffery deMontmorency, Mr. Howell and Haig. By hard and persistent thinking I am just beginning to see the outlines of the policy to be pursued regarding Peshawar and the method of executing it. As to the general situation I also begin to see the faint outlines, but the matter of execution is quite blurred yet.

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21 May 1930, Wednesday.

Had a discussion with Howell and later with Dunnett regarding Peshawar, present position, how to put it right and reforms. We got on very well, though Dunnet is inclined to be original while I wish [him] to be only imitative.

When they left I felt very tired, lay down, developed temperature which rose to 100, then subsided to 99 and did not leave me till 8-30 p. m. There was no appetite, but I did not feel really bad.

Akhtari has come up to Simla. Asghari is in Lahore and without servants. She is unsettled, and I must get her here to be in touch with her.

---

22 May 1930, Thursday.

Yesterday I was to see Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency, but had to cancel the engagement as I was laid up. Today was the Members' Dinner, and I had to cancel that as well, but though I felt feverish and achy during some parts of the day, temperature did not go beyond 98.5. This is satisfactory, and I want to be quite well tomorrow for the Executive Council meeting.

Saw Dr. Suhrawardy. There were some more. I must now have an attempt at consolidating Muslims.

Akhtari came to see us. She is feeling quite cheerful. She preferred to come here to going to Murree.

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23 May 1930, Friday.

Executive Council meeting. I pressed again that elections be *held in* September and not in January. *i. e.*, before the Round Table Conference and not after it. H. E. is not so keen on January elections now as he was before.

They wanted more ordinances and more severe action. I expressed myself against both. As to Peshawar, H. E. has again sent enquiries to Chief Commissioner regarding Relief Committee and Defence Committee.

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24 May 1930, Saturday.

Beeby [wife] got Naim to telephone that she will come on the 27th. *I doubt that very much.* She is so keen on doing unimportant and petty things that she neglects important ones.

It was a holiday and I got through a good deal of work. Harkishan Lal came today and had a long chat; I had asked him to see H. E. and he is here.

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25 May 1930, Sunday.

Gave a luncheon party to Harkishan Lal. Joginder Singh, Firoz, Daljit Singh, Shafaat Ahmad attended.

Shurawardy and Ghaznavi have been here and have been helpful.

Have been to Raja Harnam Singh for condolence.

Harkishan Lal waited upon H. E., but as I had no talk with him or H. E. regarding this interview it appears that the interview was not a heart to heart talk.

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26 May 1930, Monday.

My day with H. E. — Pressed again : (1) Election before the Round Table Conference, (2) Assembly meeting to be held in July, (3) Moderate policy needed, (4) Peshawar troubles.

He called me to come back in the evening when he pressed Howell to ask Chief Commissioner regarding Relief Committee, Defence Committee and not stopping all public men from entering the Frontier Province or Peshawar.

Frontier Reforms work is progressing. Had a talk with Dunnett who is for spreading himself into the untried, but I have told him that I will be content to imitate Punjab.

———

27 May 1930, Tuesday.

Beeby, Asghari and Naim have come — that is good, and Nawaz will come a few days later.

Akhtari is with Firoz. I should like to get her to live here for a week or so.

Peshawar affairs are not I am afraid being managed satisfactorily. The policy is a strong repressive policy and I am afraid it will not achieve the best results. Lull is not peace, much less contentment ; and the reaction to harshness and oppression in the Frontier Province is bound to be nasty and deplorable.

———

28 May 1930, Wednesday.

It is finally settled that I do not go to Geneva — H. E. cannot spare me — needs me in the troublesome times, and then to formulate

views on the Simon Report. So he must find someone else to take my place there. I am sorry in a way as this session of the League is important as Egypt and Arabia [?] [are] joining the League. Palestine Mandate and the Tanganayika Mandate may come up for consideration. Moreover the chance of influencing the Secretary of State is also lost. However, on the whole I am glad because I do not feel strong enough for the strain.

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29 May 1930, Thursday.

Members' dinner — had a long talk with Haig and some with Schuster and others. I believe they are realising that I have definite views and based on some data and reached on careful consideration of the data. They are kind and considerate and do not attribute my differing from them oftener than agreeing with them due to my greater command of the data and experience. The matter of elections, and the Assembly Session are the two problems on which H. E. held definite views and mine were diametrically opposed to his and if he tomorrow adopts mine, it will mark a definite stage in the establishment of respect for my views.

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30 May 1930, Friday.

Anotber Executive Council meeting held, and two Ordinances passed. Peshawar's condition is still unsatisfactory. Viceroy is in for repression and the only alternative he seems to think is surrender. Mild patient treatment to wear out opposition and agitation does not appear to appeal to him. He appreciates Muslim mentality and asks for Muslim active support, but I believe realises that he cannot claim it having done nothing for the Community. Even now the policy seems to be one of make believe than of conviction.

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31 May 1930, Saturday.

A number of Punjabi Muslims have come to see and to wait upon H. E. Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency. I have suggested to H. E. the Viceroy and H. E. the Governor and others that they better take a

deputation to the Viceroy and talk of Reforms and Peshawar and this will give him an occasion to re-state his policy towards Muslims and towards India. This is agreed to and 4th June is fixed for the purpose. This is satisfactory. Punjabi people came today to see me.

---

1 June 1930, Sunday.

Had quite a large number to see me.

We have a full house — Nasim and his wife, Asghari and Nawaz, and all of us. Only Akhtari and Akbar live in Firoz's house.

I am fairly well — not very well, but still with my chronic complaint can't expect a great deal out of life. These are my troubles — Naim to be started in life, my succession case and my recent Bahawalpur case. If I can settle these three things in a satisfactory way, I have no occasion to grumble. Azim and the two girls are doing well in their studies and after four years I may settle them in life.

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2 June 1930, Monday.

H. E. is busy with the Round Table Conference. He has decided to hold the Assembly and the Council of State meetings and this is a great victory for me personally. Again he has decided to hold elections next September. This again is a great victory for me. Again, he has decided that I should not go to Geneva, and that again is a great success.

The only point on which I am not satisfied is the Frontier matter, of restoring peace. I am pressing, and the Viceroy seems to be acting on some suggestions but not quite openly and frankly.

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3 June 1930, Tuesday.

King Emperor's birthday in the morning. There was the usual parade and levee uniform, in the evening State Dinner, followed by a Reception to which 500 guests were invited. The function passed off nicely. We had a nice day of it. Zafrulla is here and has done a great deal towards working up the deputation.

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4 June 1930, Wednesday.

Punjab deputation waited upon H. E. The reply relating to the Frontier Reforms was seen by the Secretary of State and the Chief Commissioner and the Viceroy's reply is a definite step in advance as to the Reforms in the Frontier Province. The formula is bound to create a stir in the Punjab and in India. This again will be attributed to me, and in fact it is due to me and I believe it to be in the best interests of the Frontier Province, Muslim India and the Government.

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5 June 1930, Thursday.

Members' dinner at my house. It went off nicely, and the members were at my house a long time and we discussed the present situation and suitable action, etc. The dinner and the talk were quite satisfactory. I believe all the members except one place a great deal of reliance upon my views and I have nothing to complain especially as I have been barely six weeks in touch with them.

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6 June 1930, Friday.

In the Executive Council we discussed the Criminal Law Amendment Act's enforcement against the All India Working Committee of the Congress. I opposed it. Mitter joined me. C.-in-C. dropped his support, and the proposal to enforce it strongly was dropped. Action and initiative were left to the local Governments. Of all the Governors, deMontmorency and Hailey are keeping their heads. Haig is being sent to Bombay to stir up the local government. It appears that the European community of Bombay have been complaining.

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7 June 1930, Saturday.

Had a breakfast party to which Nawab Sir Khuda Bakhsh, leader of the deputation to the Viceroy and others were invited. We had a pleasant time. The weather is bright, cool and pleasant — quite enjoyable though a bit dusty.

Civil Disobedience Movement is not on the decline but then it is not on the increase either, and I should not feel surprised if by July it begins to decline.

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8 June 1930, Sunday.

Had two complaints from the Punjab about Firoz's administration — from Sodhie regarding appointing Capt. Patch as co-Civil Surgeon of Lahore and Major Anand regarding Professorship of Physiology. Firoz is not a thoughtful man, rushes to action, does not think and wait. I am afraid he is not making much of success of his Ministership.

I have decided to run Abdul Hamid for the Council of State membership.

———

9 June 1930, Monday.

Opened the Advisory Board of the Council of Agricultural Research — delivered a short speech challenging the utility of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Dined with Mrs. Haig. She had quite a large party.

There are some troublesome cases awaiting disposal, and I want to do them so well that I leave them undone. I must not get into that habit, but should keep a clean slate as heretofore.

Nawab Sir Khuda Bakhsh who breakfasted with me on the 7th, died last night of heart failure at Lahore — may God rest his soul in peace.

———

10 June 1930, Tuesday.

As H. E. was away yesterday, I waited upon him today. Settled about Medical Ministers' Conference etc., had a talk about Round Table Conference and about Peshawar.

Had an At Home for the Advisory Board of the Council of Agricultural Research. It was quite successful.

Educational arrangements for Husnara and Asaf are quite satisfactory — tutor for maths., Urdu and civics, a governess for English, general knowledge and domestic economy — Rs. 160 a month, but the arrangements are good and will last till the middle of October.

———

11 June 1930, Wednesday.

Did two big and complicated cases — Frontier Province constitution, and the Medical case. My ideas about them getting clearer.

The Ministers Conference takes place on the 23rd. H. E. says he can come to a garden party on 23rd. I will have dinner on one day, and Firoz can have one and H. E. can have one.

Meetings of central legislature come off in another few weeks, so June and July are going to be heavy months and August and September will be spent on Reforms. This means the Simla season over. September will also be occupied in elections.

————

12 June 1930, Thursday.

Had a meeting of my secretariat regarding the Medical Council Bill — a very long discussion. I have come to the conclusion that the Bill be limited to setting up an organisation to arrange for inspection report provided that I contribute one permanent official for the work. This is to what the provinces may eventually agree and it will have to be put to me by the provinces. Then I will get a Bill drafted, and circulated for opinion to provinces to elicit the opinion of important Medical Associations to us by next January.

————

13 June 1930, Friday.

A garden party on the 23rd, both H. E. and Lady Irwin will come. Cecil want Rs. 2 per head and band money 75/- in the hotel, and 2/8 for my house, and chairs and tables to be supplied by me. Then smokes and drinks. This means 3/- per head and in all nearly Rs. 1000 a bit too much, but it will enable me to get rid of quite a large number of callers. Moreover during the first year I have to do all these things, as I cannot dine out or be in company for long.

————

28 September 1930, Sunday.

Pressure of work and indifferent health prevented my carrying on the diary till today, the 28th of September.

I better record the main events of the last date of each month,

30 June, 31 July, 31 August. and then 27th September what has happened, and then carry on from today the 28 September 30.

———

30 June 1930, Monday.

1. Medical Conference was a great success, and the At Home at which the Viceroy and Lady Irwin came was also a great success. H. E. Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency and the C.-in-C. were also present. The hotel bill came to nearly 1250/-.

2. Went to Peshawar about Frontier troubles. Very bad beginning, but later on got on well — very great success. Chief Commissioner and everybody surprised and happy. Viceroy expressed obligation, etc. Press enthusiastic.

3. Asghari is in family way. She is rather weak and we are anxious about her.

4. Akhtari is well and happy.

5. Nasim is middling, finds married life not all roses. His wife is inexperienced and perhaps difficult.

———

31 July 1930, Thursday.

1. Central legislature met. This was in pursuance of my views which H. E. adopted and thereby superseded the decision already arrived at. The session was an unqualified success. Mohd Yaqub was elected President. Government had a much more successful session than ever before. In the matter of the Civil Disobedience, Government's position has improved a great deal.

2. Governors' Conference regarding Simon Report. The Executive Council meetings were a very great strain, and on the 28th I got fever which did not leave me till about the middle of August.

3. Naim has passed his B. A., but in the 3rd division, and wants to go to Cambridge as an affiliated student. After a great deal of controversy we have agreed to let him go.

4. Azim has passed his F. Sc. in the second division, but fairly good marks 349. Has done very well in Maths, well in Physics,

Chemistry, poorly in English and Urdu.

5. Akbar has passed this time, and with 356 marks, doing very well in Maths.

F. H. 28-9-30

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31 August 1930, Sunday.

1. My illness has been very protracted and low fever every day in the mornings and for some time right up to bed time and later up to afternoon has its peculiar feature. It ran into September. Colonel White-Law gave me Adlin [?] prescription but to no avail.

6. H. E. sent Cunningham to see me and discuss some matters, and also came himself.

3. Had to do a good deal of work when laid up in bed especially with reference to Simon Report.

4. Have not been able to entertain as I intended to do. Cannot be helped. I must leave this to Delhi and next year.

F. H. 28-9-1930

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27 September 1930, Saturday.

1. Said was here for ten days. Sardar Begum wrote about Naim and Hamida, but as Naim did not want to get married till after his return from England, nothing could be done.

2. Ahmad Said was here in July for ten days or so.

3. Bilqis and Fateh Muhammad came and later Fateh Mohd was sent to Razmak and Bilqis came here.

4. I got well and alert in the first week of September and attended Executive Council meetings. Government of India despatch is ready and was signed by me last night.

5. Naim and Akbar have gone to England. Naim would join Cambridge (Christ's College) and Akbar to go to Bristol for engineering course.

6. Azim has gone to Lahore to join Government College for his B. A. education, as Delhi University is not quite up to the mark,

though teaching in English and Maths. is probably as good as in Lahore.

7. Akhtari is back with us and I mean to keep her till Akbar's return.

8. My wife, Asghari, Akhtari, Bilqis, Nawaz, all have gone to Lahore, and Asaf, Lauri, Nasim and I go to Narkanda and Bagi today.

F. H. 28-9-1930

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28 September 1930, Sunday.

We started on our trip into the interior. Our party consisted of Asaf, Lauri, Nasim and me, with Nadir Shah, P. A., bearer, khidmatgar, khansamas, two rickshaws of our own and two rickshaws, one pony, six mules — our retinue consisted of 26 men. Funny, 26 men needed for 4, and besides these 26, others at each halting place.

We come to Fagu a distance of 12 miles from Simla — over 1000 feet higher than Simla. On the way we passed Wild Flower Hall and Kufri which is a biggish place. Water is not easily accessible, the journey being down below in a *khud*. We stayed in Raja's rest-house, not bad but not as clean as one would like it to be.

---

29 September 1930, Monday.

Left Fagu at 10.30 a. m., reached Theog (5 miles), the journey was hot, the road being bare and treeless. Then there was going round a valley emerging into another and then going round again and again and we reached Mathiana at 4-30 — six hours for 16 miles.

Mathiana dak bungalow is an average one, bath rooms are not suitable, there being no separate place for bathing and the room being too small for both purposes.

It appears that at the bathing places there is a Contractor who charges high prices from the travellers. Probably he gets no salary.

We had tea and the dinner, Asaf had headache. We all had a good night.

---

30 September 1930, Tuesday.

Mathiana to Narkanda is 11 miles journey is partly through bare hills and partly through jungle. Nearby midway is Kandiala where there is an orchard by one O'Halagan – an Irishman. The apples we saw were not very good.

Narkanda has one dak bungalow and one rest-house and hotel run by the State. These are generally kept full in the season. There is a post and telegraph office too. The small bazar is, as usual with such bazars, dirty and insanitary. In the evening it becomes quite chilly.

Narkanda marks the colours of one and the beginning of another valley. There is an orchard and vegetable garden too.

––––

1 October 1930, Wednesday.

Narkanda. A fairly full day. In all these rest-houses and dak bungalows arrangements for bathing are almost non-existent, and all improvisations are unsatisfactory.

There is not much to see here. No special scenery. Snows you can see from Simla perhaps better than from here. Water supply hard and not as pure as in Simla. Food stuff non-existent, no fruit, no vegetables but from a Bania's orchard recently started, and everything to be brought from Simla. The air did not strike me as particularly better than Simla's. Very, very dirty surroundings much more insanitary and dirty than Simla's. I am inclined to think that is a very overrated place.

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2 October 1930, Thursday.

Narkanda. It was bitterly cold, a slight breeze was on and nothing but a brisk walk or being in the sun was any use. We went out for walks and returned feeling warm. There are lots of Europeans here — very nearly 20, some in the dak bungalow, some in the Rana's hotel and some in Rana's rest-house. Rana's rest-house is not quite rightly built to get the sun.

We had our dak. Firoz is in trouble. Shahabdin and Ahmadyar are after him. Probably it is Shahabdin who has started the

mischief. Zafrulla is being put up to stand for Ministership. Personally I think he better remain for the High Court Judgeship.

———

3 October 1930, Friday.

Had another wire from Firoz. I have advised him to have a talk with Zafrulla and husband his resources, collect his supporters. I have advised both to stand by the decision of their Party and let H.E. know how the situation stands, and have written to Sikander to that effect.

Left Narkanda at 11 a. m. and reached Baghi at 2-30 p. m., though the distance is only 10 miles, but it consists of up hills and down hills over and over again and the road is quite narrow and not altogether free from danger.

Baghi seems to be a nice clean place and distinctly better than Narkanda in the matter of situation, water and air.

———

4 October 1930, Saturday.

Bagi. A nice day, but at times cloudy and windy and on the whole chilly. Bagi is a nice clean place and water supply is good, and air is good. It is cold, but with judicious exercise and arrangements not unpleasantly so.

We had our mail at 12-30 and the mail left at 1-30, so we were able to dispose it. Had thus combined business and rest. Things in Lahore are made lively by Shahabuddin's intrigue, and he is coming in his true colours. My influence for good on people does not appear to be of any lasting nature. But whose has been in the history of the world ?

Have not been feeling very well — irregularity of life.

———

5 October 1930, Sunday.

A very nice day — sunshine, less windy, less chilly. Had a stroll in the garden and went for a walk in the afternoon, did two miles. Got cases from Simla. Lahore position is obscure. We have decided to stay here for the 7th, and on 8th to march to Narkanda, and by daily stages to reach Simla on the 11th. Congress is now definitely

outside the Round Table Conference and so is the Nationalist Party and so is the public. Liberals and the misc. people and Muslims etc. are for it. Three months later, there will be some loss even in these ranks. Fate, and in 1932, Muslims will also get divided but the majority will support Reforms.

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6 October 1930, Monday.

Baghi. Another fine day. We have decided to stay on an extra day here. Did the Frontier educational file and some correspondence and arranged the Frontier file. The Secretary of State has disagreed with the Government of India as to Tirah expedition. He had adopted my view. I had not dissented in the Executive Council but had told the Council what I thought. They are continuing Martial Law in Peshawar and I must protest.

In the afternoon I felt unwell. It is probably the stomach or to be more accurate the intestines which do not expel the refuse. I must try to do something when in Delhi, perhaps try the Hakim again.

---

7 October 1930, Tuesday.

Wrote a note on Peshawar urging

1. *Tirah*—no territorial expansion be attempted.

2. Frontier Province — a Deputy Chief Commissioner to reorganise and reform the administration.

3. Reports on several points. *e. g.*

(*a*) 30 April incident in Peshawar funeral firing ;

(*b*) Tukko [?] incident Charsaddah ;

(*c*) Charsaddah atrocities of August 30 ;

(*d*) Afridi incursions etc. to decide what enquiry if any be held.

This also mean [s] a row, well let it.

Wrote another note regarding ordinances saying legislatures local and central should be tried and no ordinances renewed, or some or similar passed afresh after a short interval. This also means a row but let it.

Firoz is in trouble, Zafrulla is not strong but Shahabuddin is using him.

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8 October 1930, Wednesday.

Left Bagi at 10-30 and reached Narkanda at 1-30 p. m. The progress made was so good that we decided to push on to Mathiana where we reached by 5-30 — very well done. We were of course tired. From Narkanda to Mathiana is all down hill.

I have not felt very well, no appetite and have been practically fasting. The reason for pushing on was Firoz's letter that there was trouble and Sikander's letter that there was confusion. I have asked Ahmadyar to come to Simla to see me.

This squabble has made the chances of change in Hindu and Sikh Members weak.

———

9 October 1930, Thursday.

Left Mathiana at 10-30 and reached Fagu at 3-30, five hours, and felt very tired; probably had fever, but did not want to see whether it was so.

Fagu is a windy place.

No more news from Lahore about the Ministries. I must on return first put myself right, then attend to Lahore squabbles, then to the Frontier case, and then to the Reforms case. These are the main things that need immediate attention.

The Hindus are creating a bias against me in England, sacrificing India for communal reasons.

———

10 October 1930, Friday.

Left Fagu at 10 and reached Simla at 12-30 and was very glad to get back. Such trips are useful as they make one appreciate the daily comforts of a permanent residence, comforts which are taken for granted and do not value very much.

Had letters and talks with Firoz and Sikander and letters from Shahabuddin. I think Shahabuddin has behaved badly and Mehr Shah has done great mischief — funnily the two men who got 10 squares each only last March. The effect of this on the Party and the Sikh and Hindu Members is extremely bad. This is the first serious blow on my work in the Punjab due to my leaving the Punjab.

———

11 October 1930, Saturday.

Not a very satisfactory day.

Yesterday I had no meals excepting morning cup of tea and the same has been the case today — not even the afternoon tea. Had some fruit juice, some '*dahi*' and '*lassi*' and a little soup. There seems to be no end of bile which has paralysed the digestive system, and I am trying to purge the system of it with the help of salines and fruit juices.

Saw H. E. about the Frontier Province and the ordinances — long talk. Hope something will come out of it. He wanted me to talk to Crerar and Howell and I promised to do so.

———

12 October 1930, Sunday.

Starvation and saline, fruit juice, treatment continued and towards evening felt the system working and slight appetite. This gives me nearly a week to recover strength in, and be ready for the next trip.

Cleared all cases and files and newspapers and journals and accounts etc. Now I must prepare the winter programme — a) Health; (b) Reforms; (c) Estate; (d) Organisation; (e) touring and understanding India.

Punjab affairs are all topsy-turvy. I better wait till I am in Lahore to see what can be done to put matters right. Some people have been too selfish and personal.

———

13 October 1930, Monday.

Felt a little better, slight inclination towards food.

Had a busy day — Noyce, Ramchandra, Emerson — did many cases, and had no time left for Howell.

Wrote letters. Punjab Muslim Ministry trouble nearing settlement.

Rahim is going. Noyce said he did not want him as Rahim was entirely useless, so I could not keep him. I did not see enough of his work, but such work as I saw was not bad but fairly good. However, I better give him and his wife a farewell dinner *i. e.* 'To meet

Mr. and Mrs. Rahim' and ask all the Secretariat of the Department and the Heads of Department to meet them.

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14 October 1930, Tuesday.

Had a long talk with Howell regarding Peshawar and the Frontier Province. Then had other visitors with the result that had no time left for............[?]. A busy morning. I do not interview people in the afternoon and have rest and am therefore improving.

News from Lahore hopeful. Firoz will be reappointed and this is highly satisfactory. Manohar Lal will be ousted by Gokal Chand, but really Chhotu Ram should have been appointed. Governor is caring more for peace than principle —the policy was initiated by Hailey and has retarded the development of parties in the Province.

---

15 October 1930, Wednesday.

Another busy morning. I am much better now. Had Rahim's farewell dinner — 16 at the table, Noyce was on leave and so absent. There were only three ladies. Dinner was fairly good and was passed a pleasant evening.

Crerar came to see me about the Frontier Province — had an hour's talk. We largely agree. There is Hindu agitation against me, being conducted not only in India but also in England.

Restful life here in Simla nowadays — H. E. away, work light and weather pleasant.

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16 October 1930, Thursday.

Members' Dinner — there were C.-in-C., Rainy and Crerar only, Mitter and Finance Member away, and Bhore excused himself. We had a nice dinner and nice light evening — quite pleasant. They are all very nice and kind to me, and show a certain amount of deference to my views. Keen on suppressing the Civil Disobedience movement and as I am generally critical of the proposals in that direction they do not quite like it, but realise the force of my criticism and are tolerant of my opposition knowing that it is not ill-

meant. This is C.-in-C.'s last dinner of Members in Simla. My turn comes again for the dinner on the 13th of November at Delhi.

———

17 October 1930, Friday.

A cloudy cold day. There was some rain too. Packing for tour. What an upheaval ! Books, clothes, furniture, pictures, curtains, no end of things — commotion in the house. Bulbs, fittings, shades — no end of things. There will be worse trouble in Delhi as furniture will have to be done anew. I am leaving all coverings, curtains, pictures here, so next year it will be easy to settle down in Simla, though in Delhi it will mean hard work — two seasons in Delhi and two more in Simla. Arrangements for departure have been completed today — very tiring work.

———

18 October 1930, Saturday.

Packing etc. all finished. Mrs. Ramchandra helped a great deal. We left at 3-45 p. m., reached Kalka at 7-30 p. m., felt very tired, rested and had dinner at 9-15 p. m. Had a fair night. This shows how weak I have become, even a short journey upsets me, and a comparatively mild strain proves too much.

Just as I was leaving got papers about South African trouble. It appears that our success in the .... [?] affair has upset the Europeans in Africa and hence a racial agitation on a large scale.

———

19 October 1930, Sunday.

Reached Lahore safely. Sikander, Firoz, Shahabuddin, Rahim Bakhsh, Amiruddin and others were there and we drove to my house. It appears that Sikander made up with Shahabuddin and there is no more trouble between them if they act honestly by each other. The ill feeling is still there.

Received a large number of visitors.

Col. Harper Nelson examined me and said my lungs and my heart are about the same as they were two or three years ago, but my general health is much worse, and rest, feeding and a little help by way of medicine should put me right in a couple of months.

———

20 October 1930, Monday.

A crowd of visitors. Chhotu Ram and Harbaksh Singh are very hurt in view of the squabble between Firoz and Shahabuddin. This is perfectly true. Had the party kept its ranks closed, they could have insisted on another Minister being taken from *their* party. The responsibility for this lies on Ahmadyar and Shahabuddin, to a certain extent on Zafrulla Khan and Mehr Shah.

In case there is a petition against Shahabuddin, Chhotu Ram should be elected as President. In case there is not, Shahabuddin should be retained and Chhotu Ram should get a grant or a jagir.

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21 October 1930, Tuesday.

Asaf, Laurie and Akhtari were examined by Col. Dick. Asaf has got an ointment for her eyes and glasses for reading. Laurie has to use glasses for reading. She is myopic and astigmatic. Akhtari has something wrong with her nose and has to use some drops.

Saw H. E. this evening, and settled good many things with him.

Have been busy seeing visitors and such a large number; regret could not see others as I had to go to Taxila and get ready. Will see them later.

---

22 October 1930, Wednesday.

Had a pleasant night in the saloon and reached Taxila early in the morning. Got up leisurely, had a fruit *Chota Hazri*, then went to see Taxilas.[1] Saw two of them, and returned to breakfast at 10-30. It was a pleasant day. Sikander had given us two cars. After breakfast we rested and then did [a] little writing and after having tea proceeded to see another Taxila,[2] had a nice walk and returned at 6 p. m. Taxila is a nice place and the bungalow, in particular its compound, is very well kept.

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23 October 1930, Thursday.

Passed a pleasant enjoyable day at Wah where Sikander entertained us to a sumptuous breakfast at the Moghal emperor's halting place. At 2 p. m. we went to Hasanabdal where we saw Punja Sahib

1-2. Probably, "*Stupas*". (Ed.)

(Guru Nanak's shrine for Sikhs) and Lala Rukh's tomb. Both were worth visiting. My wife and the girls enjoyed the visit immensely. We motored back to Wah where we had a grand tea and enjoyed some "*Bhuttas*". The girls tried to catch some fish but without success. We played about a little and then motored back to Taxila. After a pleasant dinner, we all enjoyed an excellent night's rest.

---

24 October 1930, Friday.

Passed a very pleasant, peaceful, restful day here. The garden of the bungalow is most restful and artistic. The climate is refreshing and salubrious, and the view interesting. I have never enjoyed my stay anywhere so much as here.

In the afternoon we went to see another stupa—quite close, looked like burials, a castle-like shrine built in memory of a great personality. The girls enjoyed the visit very much. I told them I intended to set up as a saint here, worship God, develop soul force and serve mankind by spiritualistic works.

Left Taxila after dinner.

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25 October 1930, Saturday.

At Gujranwala saw Nasir. He is on the mend so far as additional complications are concerned, but the danger to heart has increased. It appears that his mother has been mixing up treatment, and thus contributed to his trouble getting accentuated. Had a sumptuous breakfast and left for Lahore.

Matters in Lahore have got on more or less smoothly. Shahabuddin has been elected unopposed. He seems to have had talks with Hindus and has made himself ridiculous. The matter of Deputy President is under discussion and there are lots of candidates.

---

26 October 1930, Sunday.

I have decided not to go to Buchiana, to escape the worry of the tenants of *chak* 103 who seem to be in a nasty mood brought about by low prices.

Saw a large number of visitors.

Matters regarding Round Table Conference. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah is not going to England, so I had to send a telegram to the Viceroy as to who is to take his place.

Matters relating to South Africa are assuming threatening aspect and I wrote to H.E. about it from Simla, but have had no reply. It may mean some address and reply thereto during my stay in Lahore.

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27 October 1930, Monday.

Good many cases came from Simla and some quite important.

Mian Ali Ahmad Khan came and did accounts.

Ahmad Said discussed his daughter's marriage and settled a few things.

In the afternoon went to an At Home given by Maulana Mohammad Ali, M.A., of the Lahore Ahmadiya sect for whom I have great regard. They have got the land I recommended them for and trust they will do well. Md. Nawaz is here. He has a problem which has to be tackled.

My wife is not clear in her own mind whether she would go to Delhi.

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28 October 1930, Tuesday.

Passed a busy day—Many visitors, attending to the bungalow affairs etc.

Peshawar affairs are not mending and one does not know what to do.

South African affairs are causing anxiety but I have decided to wait till I reach Delhi before I make a statement.

Saw Chhotu Ram again. Hope he will be helped by H.E.— he fully deserves it.

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29 October 1930, Wednesday.

Peshawar sarai. Sharif says a case is inevitable, so we looked for the title deed and found none. Mian Ali Ahmad Khan devoted a long time, but got hold of some letters and no more. We may find some difficulty in establishing title.

Shahabuddin had a long talk with me. He realises that he made a mess of it and is ashamed of himself. I did not worry him, for what is the use of condemning a man when his own conscience is condemning him.

———

30 October 1930, Thursday.

Went to Shahdara. Shahabuddin's and my joint lands were inspected. Income cosists in :

a) Lease of 2 or 3 kanals of site for stocking coal.

b) Rice produce.

c) Misc. produce of the land on the other side.

I have paid him Rs. 1096-11, half the cost of channel digging and filling up low lying land. He sent me Rs. 123 as my share of income, and he gave me nearly 200 last year, and I will get Rs. 150 or so this year, so half the investment will have been repaid.

———

31 October 1930, Friday.

7 Lytton Road. I have decided to let the house and stocked books and good furniture in one Munshi Khana and one garage and left other furniture in. My terms are Rs. 225/- and 75/- or Rs. 250/- and 50/- p.m. rent of house and furniture. If the house is not let, it will mean a cost of Rs. 50 a month at least and another 300 per annum on repairs. So it means *minus* 1000 or *plus* 3300, *i.e.*, a difference of about 4000. My wife is staying here, so she will have [to] settle this matter.

———

1 November 1930, Saturday.

Reached Delhi. House is in a fair order and quite comfortable. The compound is large and...[?] very useful. One could spend the

cold weather here very pleasantly and comfortably. It is quiet, retired, close to office and Viceregal Lodge and altogether very desirable.

We want covers for sofas, chairs and curtains for doors. It means probably Rs. 500 or so. Then we want bulbs etc. which means another Rs.100 or so.

The place is restful and this is my main requirement just now.

---

2 November 1930, Sunday.

We are settling down to unpacking.

Had an informal Executive Council meeting today — King's speech at Round Table Conference, etc.

There is an idea that the Violent Revolutionary Party wish to have their existence felt by committing outrages in Delhi preferably on the Viceroy and his Executive Councillors; so the Councillors are being protected by police guards—4 Constables and a Head Constable from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. But what protection can they give? It is a matter of 'Fate'—no amount of precaution can guarantee immunity from such outrages.

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3 November 1930, Monday.

Saw H.E. and talked to him about—East Africa, South Africa, Benares University, Aligarh University, Archeology Director and the Frontier Province. H.E. says Howell's visit to the Frontier Province has been useful, and Howell thinks Pears has not done badly, and the reports are satisfactory and he will show them to me and see me for a talk. This is not unexpected, but disappointing all the same. I cannot leave the matter where it is.

A man named Abdul Wahab came from Panipat to warn me that Hindus are after my life and I should protect myself. He seemed to me quite genuine.

---

4 November 1930, Tuesday.

Went to office and saw Secretary etc.

There is some difficulty in getting cloth etc. for covering sofas and chairs due to picketing campaign, so furnishing will take much longer than anticipated.

Nasim and his wife came yesterday. Nasim had Rs. 200 for travelling in October and I gave him Rs 250 for November. My estimated Bill is 600 Naim, 250 Nasim, 250 Azim, 150 Asaf and Laurie, *i.e.*, 1250 p.m., with extras and initials 1500 p.m.

Settling down in the house is taking a long time because we are so far away from shops.

---

5 November 1930, Wednesday.

Have made some progress. Ordered some stuff for covering sofas and chairs with from Harison Hathway of Calcutta. It should reach here by 11th and three *darzies* for three days should finish the work and the house be ready for entertaining visitors.

Lady Hardinge Hospital and College are quite close to us. This is a great convenience for Asghari—a matter of less than ten minutes drive—barely a mile or so. Did some shopping, cake, pastry, etc. We have fixed up minerals, meat, poultry, butter, etc., satisfactorily. I think we still want a chawkidar.

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6 November 1930, Thursday.

Saw Lady Hardinge Hospital which is now a big hospital. It is not more than 15 minutes slow motor drive from our house and will do nicely for Asghari. But we must get a large European room for her and good attendance. There are three months to wait and by middle of January she must be ready to go to Hospital. In the meantime, she should walk morning, afternoon and evening, half an hour each time and should not become lazy.

We had a nice drive and did some shopping too. Climate is quite good and house comfortable and enjoyable.

---

7 November 1930, Friday.

Met one Brailsford, an English journalist and had a long talk

with him. I believe he went back; will return [?] to see me. He is going to Amritsar later.

Had a telegram from my wife that she is reaching tomorrow night. This has taken us by surprise because she wanted to remain away a month and we have been here barely a week.

My English Gold dinner set is ruined. It appears that the box fell and several plates were smashed. This is very regrettable as it is not possible to replace them.

---

8 November 1930, Saturday.

It does take a long time to settle down, and we seem to be as far from getting settled as a week ago. The house being in New Delhi adds to the usual difficulties and we being strangers is a further obstacle.

My wife is coming tonight. She changed her mind *apparently* all of a sudden for she intended to stay there *till* the end of November. She came at 9-15 and looked tired. I must get her examined and force treatment on her. She is a very difficult patient, and getting more and more out of tune with the present and does not take things philosophically which is a pity. She has brought one Nurpur maid servant for Asghari and Asghari has brought another.

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9 November 1930, Sunday.

Quite a pleasant day. Nasim came along in the morning about 11 a.m. complaining why we did not send him the car. He seems to be a bit thoughtless. Expense means nothing to him and money seems to be no consideration. He does not appear to consider life a matter of any seriousness, thinks money should be available, as to earning it that does not matter.

We had a walk in the compound. In the evening Malik Md. Sher and his wife (sister of Malik Firoz Khan) came and stayed to dinner, this cost me 1½ hours of work in the evening.

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10 November 1930, Monday.

Discussed the Education Board with Secretary and E.C. and arrived at certain conclusions. I should like to start it next cold weather November' 31, and failing that in April' 32. We can settle this later. H.E. is agreeable.

Did many cases with H.E.—East Africa despatch; South African compaign; Archeology Director; Education Board; ordinances and local and central legislatures; nominations to legislatures and other matters.

Nasim and his wife had a tiff with my wife. It is a pity. They have returned to Gurgaon.

———

11 November 1930, Tuesday.

Danger to me from the Hindu Mahasabhais in conjunction with the Violence Party has increased. They have, I understand, decided to do away with me and so far as has been ascertained they propose to attempt this by shooting method. I have always held the view that precautions cannot protect one, though I am not for refusing to have them taken. I do not pin much faith in them. I believe in *'kismat'* and so the matter ends. I do hope they will not attempt it because if they do, Hindu Muslim relations will be very much estranged thereby.

———

12 November 1930, Wednesday.

Had a visit from the Imperial Citizenship Association representative and give him a statement which will be widely published, and I believe will be well received. There is, I am afraid, bound to be trouble in South Africa, because the South African mentality is queer and so is likely to cause trouble. However, I must try to put off the evil day as long as I can as there is so little that we can do by way of retaliation.

———

13 November 1930, Thursday.

Called Dr. Houlton [?] to examine my wife. She says the diarrhea is only a very temporary trouble and with fasting and very light

liquid diet and [a] little medicine will get cured. As to rheumatism she thinks the change at 50 or so will put matters right, and she adds that lungs are perfect. So there is no cause for any serious trouble. She is however nervous and so apprehensive of all sorts of troubles. When diarrhea is gone, she must have tonics and recover her strength. Her powers of recuperation are quite good.

---

14 November 1930, Friday.

Explained to Firoz the points which need pressing at the Muslim Conference at Lucknow and gave him notes which were to be sent to Zafrulla and Shafaat Ahmad.

All India Federation scheme has been pushed in London and seems to be giving cause for anxiety to H.M.G. Personally I am for it, because it means movement towards federation, and the British Government will supply the power at the centre, so that disruptive tendencies have no chance of success. We are going to have an Executive Council meeting on it tomorrow. This is an interesting development.

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15 November 1930, Saturday.

Round Table Conference—British India and States delegates have in London developed the Federation idea—Federal Assembly which will deal with matters of all India concern, and have a responsible government, and the Assembly be essentially federal. The present central subjects be divided up between the Local Government and the Federal Government, and the subjects for the latter be divided between the Federal Government and the Crown, *i.e.*, those reserved for the Crown will be such for which the Assembly will not be responsible. It really comes to Dyarchy and nothing else, and only means decentralisation, greater autonomy for provinces, and less scope for Parliamentary interference. British public do not know enough to see through these games.

From 16th November to 7th December was not able to record

Dairy daily, and am just jotting down a few things of the period and commence regularly from the 7th December.

F.H.
8/xii/30

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17 November 1930, Monday.

Went to an At Home given by the Zamindars of Gurgaon to H.E. Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency. It was the Govenor's first visit to Gurgaon for purposes of Darbar, and Sh. Khurshid Md. had made extensive and good arrangements.

It closed with fireworks. This might have been omitted because we want to lay before the people an example of simplicity and economy.

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18 November 1930, Tuesday.

When at Gurgaon, I saw Nasim's house. It is a good one for Gurgaon and for an apprentice E.A.C. but for one who had lived with me, it is no doubt a good deal of climb down, and so must be unpleasant to him. As against this, one has to put down independence etc. However, he should have a good allowance to compensate him for this.

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19 November 1930, Wednesday.

The retiring C.-in-C. Sir William Birdwood is having many functions. I gave him a Farewell Dinner. All my colleagues and some others were present. This was the first social function of the season for me. After dinner, the ladies met my wife and the girls. The function was fairly successful.

In the afternoon the Army Contractors had given a large garden party which concluded, in the evening, with very fine fireworks.

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22 November 1930, Saturday.

Nawaz came here. He has been rolling about. I don't think he has attended the instructional programme prepared for him. He

seems to possess no ability to stick to anything, even for a short time. We must try to cure him of this defect. He appears to be intelligent, but lacks application and is inclined to be indolent and lacking in self-control.

————

24 November 1930, Monday.

H.E. the Viceroy gave a very large banquet to H.E. the C.-in-C. It was a very fine show in the new Viceregal Lodge. It was impressive but formal. I suppose the functions are not thrilling in the sense that most of the guests enjoy either talk or society. Talk is as a rule insipid, formal, restrained. There are no, what society calls, mild flirtations—the advanced ages of the people at headquarters I presume exclude this.

————

26 November 1930, Wednesday.

My wife and Akhtari left with Nawaz for Lahore to join Mahmuda's marriage which is on the 30th.

My wife has not been very well, but she is so difficult to cure, will not take precautions, will not submit to restrictions of diet etc. Her inside has been out of order, and yet she will not put herself on the diet prescribed for her. I got a Lady Doctor who said there is nothing wrong with her and this complaint will disappear if she regulates her diet for two-three days.

————

27 November 1930, Thursday.

We have had many discussions about wheat and cotton. H.E. persuaded the Railway Board to reduce the Lyallpur to Karachi wheat freight, but that does no good. Proposals to reduce wheat freight from Punjab colonies to Calcutta are under consideration. Proposals to reduce cotton freight have been shelved.

————

28 November 1930, Friday.

Chief Commissioner Peshawar and Mr. Howell met me in reply to my note on the Frontier etc. I am afraid the Chief Commissioner will never do for the Frontier. He has not the capacity for it — nor

the requisite mentality. I will not worry H.E. any more and let the Assembly do what it likes. I wash my hands of it. I tried to help achieve certain success but the Provincial administration is for...obstruction and I see no advantage in continuously badgering them.

———

29 November 1930, Saturday.

Went to Lahore. Nasir's condition is very bad. Saw Col. Harper Nelson who said Nasir's heart has given way now. I am afraid he will not be with us much longer.

Went to Montgomery and then to Harappa. Inspected the cemetery excavations which have given us five skulls of 5000 years or more ago.

———

30 November 1930, Sunday.

Reached Batala. Mahmuda's marriage functions were spoiled by Nasir's illness. Somebody did mischief and told the Jhang people that the function was put off. This was put right. The Barat came very late. I dined with them and then came by car to Amritsar and thence took the train for Delhi.

———

1 December 1930, Monday.

Attended St. Andrew Dinner. It is always a pleasant and impressive function, but this time the speeches were so numerous and so lengthy that the function became boring and wearisome. It is wonderful how the English people bring into being such functions to remind themselves of their superiority. Of the British, the Scotch are recognised to be most thrifty, hard working and cliquish.

———

2 December 1930, Tuesday.

Had another dinner—Bhore's.

Had long talk with Wheatley of the Labour Commission. Rather a nice man. It is a pity my health does not permit, otherwise should like to have him to dinner and meet him more than once.

There were a number of people, but I was able to get into touch with only Wheatley, Mrs. Reid, wife of my D. S. [Deputy Secretary]

who has returned recently after more than one year's absence in England.

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3 December 1930, Wednesday.

I do not like nigh ts out. They upset me very much. My health is not good, but then it is not bad either. My weight is 11 stones as against 10 stones 7 lbs. about three weeks ago; so this is not bad, and in January with any luck I should regain my winter normal of 12 stones, and maybe will be able to reach the maximum which is 12 stones 5 lbs.

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4 December 1930, Thursday.

We had an Executive Council meeting in H. E.'s absence to discuss wheat. I knew Rainy was against me. He had expressed his opinion in his note. Bhore and Mitter don't care a hang what is done as long as they are not worried, and they are ready to agree with others. So they agreed with Rainy, Schuster and Crerar and I was left alone. So I got my dissent recorded.

---

5 December 1930, Friday.

Saw Sir John Marshall regarding the Director of Archeology. He is a nice man. Has been ill — operations etc. He put in recommendations of all sorts, and wanted me to arrive at my decisions and to announce them. This of course I could not do. We had a pleasant talk. I got all the advice I needed from him, and after an hour and a half talk he left.

---

6 December 1930, Saturday.

In the evening got news of poor Nasir's death. His troubles are all over. Sent at once a wire of condolences and expressed regret at not being able to come on account of feverish cold.

Such is life, a young boy of 26. He was born the same year as Salim who died when 14. Such — such is life.

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7 December 1930, Sunday.

Nasim came from Gurgaon. I told him he better go to Batala. Sent car for him. He and Shamin came in this evening and he left for Batala after dinner.

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8 December 1930, Monday.

Terrorists are now at bay and so more and more violent. Three of them went to the Bengal Government Secretariat, shot an officer and then shot into each room, killed one or two more, and then one of them poisoned himself, another shot himself and the third wounded himself.

The Delhi police have news that the terrorists have it on their programme to create a stir here by killing the Viceroy and some of his Council[lors] and as Hindu antipathy against me is widespread, after the Viceroy, they are aiming at my life. But surely the day of death is fixed and they cannot accelerate it.

———

9 December 1930, Tuesday.

Nasim returned from Batala. My wife will return on the 12th or the 13th.

It is now quite cold, winter has set in. It means about ten weeks of it, as in February the winter is left behind.

Ordered an afternoon suit. This is after the suits I brought from England in' 27. I may need another later. If so, it will be in January.

———

10 December 1930, Wednesday.

It is perfect weather, and I feel better than I have done for a long time. Appetite is fair, no headache; cough and sputum are there but they do not give much trouble. Sputum comes out in the morning and after breakfast, afternoon and in the evening. Good night's rest, capacity for work quite good. Weight — I am approaching my winter normal — 12 stones.

———

11 December 1930, Thursday.

Had a telegram saying lady F. H. [Fazl-i-Husain] reaching this evening by car. This caused us great alarm as she and Akhtari are not well, and the journey is 300 miles to be done in one day and were contemplating all sorts of plans to stop her at Ambala. At 4-45 p. m. the car arrived — all well, and we heaved a sigh of great relief. 300 miles in 11½ hours, it is remarkably good. She should not have done it, but I am glad, it is all over.

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12 December 1930, Friday.

Got ready to go to Calcutta. Had a lengthy meeting regarding Round Table Conference regarding responsibility at the centre in case constitution is federal. They all were beating about the bush, and when called upon to state, decided to adhere to the despatch and say—no responsibility without finance and finance can't be transferred. Moreover a federal constitution does not mean the introduction of responsibility is easier than in British India. What seems to have happened is—responsibility is going to be introduced, hence final decision of matters of common interest will be in British Indian hands. Why not take our share in the administration—hence States for federalism.

Left by 9-45 p. m. train.

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13 December 1930, Saturday.

Spent a busy day, studying files, attending cases.

Benares case is very interesting. Wheat, ordinances and legislation, Round Table Conference, East Africa.

Saloons are not half bad. *Chota Hazri* at 6 a. m.; then read newspapers; mixture at 8, shave at 8-30, bath, a good hot one at 9, breakfast at 9-30; and then worked right up till 1-30 when I had a little soup and fruit (orange and tangerine), then worked on till 4 p. m. when I had a wash and tea and rested a bit, then worked again from 5 to 8, had a wash and then dined, looked at some *Times* numbers and went to bed at 10 p. m.

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14 December 1930, Sunday.

Reached Calcutta at 8 a.m. Sir Abdul Karim Ghaznavi and some others came to receive me. I had stopped Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy from giving me a public reception or making much of me.

Saw Nazimuddin, Minister for Education, Abdullah who lunched with me, Fazil and a Depressed Class man. I have successfully got out of entertainments on the ground of health. As Ghaznavi had asked me to stay with him, I could not very well refuse to dine with him when I had excused myself from staying with him.

At Sir Abdul Karim Ghaznavi's had a dinner party of ten — Abdullah and Ghaznavi and eight guests. He has been to.........

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15 December 1930, Monday.

Col. Hasan Suhrawardy Vice-Chancellor Calcutta University's At Home was well attended and I met several interesting and renowned men — scholars, professors, High Court judges, ex Vice-Chancellors, high placed officials and non-officials. There were quite a large number of Muslims — shows how they come to surface when there is anyone to bring them to notice. Returned late in the evening.

My usual day with H. E., settled several cases, discussed others. He is keen on removing Martial Law, but wants a permanent measure. I am not in favour of it. Spoke to him of the danger of Muslim reaction to proposal of joint electorates.

———

16 December 1930, Tuesday.

Went to Zoological Museum wherein several museums are lodged — archeological, geological, zoological, paintings, manuscripts, anthropological. It took me a long time to do them.

Then I went to the Imperial Library. This left no time for the School of Tropical Medicine. In the afternoon went to Silpur across Howrah to see the Botanical gardens. Thence returned to Governor's At Home where I talked to a few Musalmans, and in the evening saw Mr. Khatau about wheat and cotton from the Punjab. He struck me as a level-headed capable man.

———

17 December 1930, Wednesday.

A very heavy Council day.

Press ordinance is needed, but Instigation one I don't think is needed. However, I succeeded in getting Instigation one ordinance stopped from being issued. The matter of Services—I failed to make my point — three out of six Members, and all three Secretaries — a foolish voice intended to stop transfer of Finance. Then we took up Regulation for Frontier. I failed to prevent its passing, but got it reduced to one year certain and one year later; and got its provisions improved a good deal.

Went to Science College which had given an At Home to Suhrawardy, V.C.

———

18 December 1930, Thursday.

In Executive Council discussed — Reforms, Budget, Benares University, Import Duty on wheat. Budget is in a very bad way. It appears that on the question of responsibility at the Centre, Viceroy is prepared to support it, but Crerar and Schuster are against it, and so is Rainy. Mitter does not care a hang one way or another and Bhore would welcome it. We will get an enquiry on the point before Xmas to be answered before the 29th and there will be nobody to send our opinion. This is satisfactory.

Spent afternoon in receiving visitors; Sir Abdullah Ghaznavi came at 2-45 p. m. and sat right up to 6 p. m. I was very tired.

———

19 December 1930, Friday.

Left Hotel at 10, went to the School of Tropical Medicine — a good institution, saw the Research Institute under construction —will probably take two years. It will cost probably 17 to 20 lakhs. Another institute won't cost less. Workers are needed and not buildings.

Then I went to the Surveyor-General's office and had a round. Then I proceeded to Whiteways and made a few purchases. Then to Hall Anderson & Co., and was able to leave it at 4 and proceed to Victoria Memorial Hall. Thence to Mr. Justice Zahid Suhrawardy's

At Home where met a large number of the High Court Judges and other people. Calcutta club is a fine place.

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20 December 1930, Saturday.

Last night had five people to dinner in my saloon. It paid off nicely. I have got diarrhea so I have fasted today — no breakfast, no tea, no dinner, only a little thin soup.

Got through files and some correspondence and papers, magazines and books. This is a great advantage in travelling in a saloon; one can get rid of a great deal of work.

Arranged all my purchases — Swadeshi and Badeshi — and I will be able to give presents to my children and boys.

I must go to Lahore — when ?, I will settle when I have corresponded with H. E.

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21 December 1930, Sunday.

Reached Delhi 11 a. m. — much colder than Calcutta. Gave presents to my girls, wife and boys, waded through newspapers, files, had a walk, and got the new bearer to take over charge from the old one. My P. A. was not well, so could not attend to correspondence.

The Muslim position at the Round Table Conference is deteriorating and I must do something to put it right. I cannot let my life's work be spoiled. I must think hard and then plan out a course of action which will answer the purpose.

---

22 December 1930, Monday.

Had a busy day — very busy, newspapers collection to be gone through, and the file work which had collected during my absence. Did them all.

Felt much better. Though it is cold, it is healthy. Nawaz and Azim are here.

Men who are doing mischief at the Round Table Conference are —

1. Labour Party; and
2. Hindus and Labour Government, through
3. Bhopal, Shafi, Fazlul Haq, Sultan Ahmad, Md. Ali Jinnah.

These moves have to be counteracted. No time to be lost in doing it.

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23 December 1930, Tuesday.

A murderous assault was made today on H. E. Sir Geoffrey de-Montmoreney today after convocation in Lahore. One revolver shot injured his arm and one above the hip, both wounds were not serious. One Lady Doctor from Delhi had a serious wound, and one Sub-Inspector who was hit, has already died. This was a narrow escape. Well, this assault has passed off — hurt but not killed. Wonder, when mine is coming, and how it will open out. The terrorists are out to do their worst. They are a Hindu organisation, and though they do not go in for killing Indians in authority, there are some whom they have singled out and I am one because of the Mahasabha programme against me.

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24 December 1930, Wednesday.

Visited old Fort Delhi—stone structure, commenced by Humayun and built by Sher Shah Suri. It does not seem to have been made much of during Akbar's times or subsequent to it. Till a few years ago, it was occupied by a nasty mean village which was bought out by the Government in the Archeological Department. It is now cleared up, laid out and preserved as a nice place for picnics, a walk in an old place of the 16th century, presenting a fascinating view of the country all around. There are subterranean rooms and high buildings too, a place worth visiting.

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25 December 1930, Thursday.

Had a nice busy day. Did some correspondence, went to bazar, walked about and played about. Called Dr. Beaden to see Asghari. She says confinement will be towards the end of January — roughly a month hence. Asghari is a very sensible and sweet girl, very sympathetic, simple in her tastes, ready to rough it, work hard and regularly. I must do all I can to protect her from worries and troubles, and give her as many interests in life as I can. She likes reading and painting and her taste in these should be developed.

Geoffrey deMontmorency is improving.

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26 December 1930, Friday.

Another nice lazy day, a bit cloudy, but no breeze and no cold; little work. In the afternoon went to see Humayun's tomb — the Department is looking after these places very well indeed.

A bomb in a cigar case exploded at the Railway Station, 2 or 3 casualties. There seem to be lots of bombs knocking about. Penalty of scientific knowledge.

Round Table Conference is getting involved in the communal mess, but I believe the Muslims are now getting hold of their moorings — Government of India despatch. Any advance over that means improving Muslim position communally, so that by the time we reach full self Government, we are guaranteed against flagrant oppression.

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27 December 1930, Saturday.

Viceregal Lodge and grounds—they are very fine—palatial, royal, magnificent. They are as good as palaces in Europe, but for that very reason the difference between the highest and the lowest form of living and comfort is greater here than in the West. I am told that the difference is even greater in the case of Persia. That however would not make it any the less objectionable.

Lord Irwin will be leaving about the middle of April, or may be a week later. This will mean that Willingdon will take over at Simla and we need not reach there till the middle of April. Where should I spend the first fortnight of April?

---

1 January 1931, Thursday.

Lady Frank Noyce and Lady Anderson came to tea. Anderson does not want Sanderson to succeed him and prefers Parkinson. The question is — should Anderson be given a year's extension? If so, is there any difficulty in doing it. Sanderson may urge — why is he being kept out of the Directorship when annual Review of his work as officiating Director shows that he did as well as Anderson. The real reply is that Reviews do not mean anything and Manohar Lal did this for his own purpose. We talked of Indianising the Army Military Schools, Public Schools.

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2 January 1931, Friday.

Abdul Bari came here today and talked about *chak* 103. The upshot of the talk is that the collections of *Kharif* are poor, that the tenants are entitled to reduction of cash rates on the basis of reduced prices and that even on that basis, it is not hoped that modified dues will be realised, and that there is little hope of arrears being realised, and that for the next year, *Batai* is inevitable and the tenants should be resident ones and another Kardar employed *i.e.* cost of collection increased and income reduced. This is inevitable.

---

3 January 1931, Saturday.

News from R. T. C. indicate that Labour Govt. made attempts to make Muslims agree to some sort of Joint Electorates. Shafi, Bhopal, Sultan Ahmad, Fazlul Haq, Hidayatullah were ready for the game, but others were against. Md. Ali was also helping and no doubt Jinnah, though himself remaining in the background. I had to take strong action, and the situation has just been saved. We must

keep our present weightage in six provinces and Centre and separate electorates. Let Hindus non-co-operate and let us build up strength during the next ten years.

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4 January 1931, Sunday.

I have succeeded in arranging for the education of children in Delhi. Asaf and Laurie who are to take their Matric of the Punjab University in '32 and '33 respectively have Maths. and Urdu and English. Urdu with a Maulvi, English with Miss Ebbutt and History, Geography and Civics with Miss Millican, while Akhtari is to have these subjects with her sisters. Nawaz has Urdu with Maulvi Sahib and English with Miss Ebbutt. We pay Rs. 100 to Maulvi Sahib, Rs. 110 Miss Ebbutt plus Rs. 40 and car *i.e.* Rs. 250 and car to them which means Rs. 280 a month.

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5 January 1931, Monday.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah came today. He looks well and strong and seems well able to act as Assembly President efficiently during the next two years. Yaqub is not as clear-headed and as clever and experienced as Sir Ibrahim. So I think we should try to get him returned if not unanimously, as sole Muslim candidate having the support of Muslims, Europeans and Govt. Yaqub is the only one to make trouble and he should be managed through Raza Ali. I must consult him again. Raza Ali is clever, but unscrupulous and suffers from the usual shortcomings.

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6 January 1931, Tuesday.

Rainy came today as desired by Lord Irwin to ask me if I wanted to go to Assembly. I told him I had no ambition in that line, was quite happy where I was and if Lord Irwin wanted me in Assembly, I would raise no objection though it 'meant' much more work. Rainy was the one to get Lord Irwin at Simla ask me if I objected to Mitter being the Leader of the House and I told him I had no objection whatsoever. It was for Lord Irwin to ask and I will readily agree.

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7 January 1931, Wednesday.

I gave but one Dinner Party to the retiring C-in-C in Delhi, and one Members' Dinner. I have not done any entertaining since then. This is bad. I ought to have had At Homes to get rid of the majority of callers. Now Ramzan will begin in another fortnight and I will not be able to have any At Homes during Ramzan. I have decided to have Dinners on 17 and 18 and on 31 January and on 1st February, and then twice a week, and after Id I will have At Homes as well.

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8 January 1931, Thursday.

Burma is getting out of hand. There is but little of political movement there, and such as exists is of a fanatical and terrorist description. Butler and Innes have encouraged Burmese feeling for separation, and thus countered Congress movement, but I have always felt that the line they took, even from the British point of view, was unsound. Now there will be twofold trouble for the British Govt. — constitutional on lines parallel to India; and administrative of an anti-British kind.

Within the next few days, Delhi will fill up and for two months will be busy and full — strenuous work.

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9 January 1931, Friday.

Have been keeping very well since my return from Calcutta, keeping early hours, afternoon walks, easy time, open air life, good appetite, sound sleep and probably 11 stones 7 lbs. So I am short just by 7 or 8 lbs. I am afraid the Assembly Session will disturb my serene quiet leisurely life. Large number of visitors, long hours, anxiety and worry — altogether a more strenuous life. However, after 20th March, I should have three weeks of rest. May, June and July are not likely to be busy. Weather is very mild — more like March in Lahore and winter underclothing has to be abandoned.

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10 January 1931, Saturday.

Discussed wheat percentage and Import Duty — Commerce and Finance Members and I. I have urged the appointment of a statistics officer, and urged that by legislation Governor-General-in-Council should have the power to reduce freights and impose import duty in an emergency, and further to urge that an emergency existed. Failure of rains in the Punjab means higher wheat rates, and so the urgency appears to have to a certain extent disappeared. Commerce Member opposed, but Finance Member gave me some support, and he is consulting the Railway Board; and as to the Punjab wheat crop I am making enquiries.

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11 January 1931, Sunday.

Firoz came in the evening. He wanted to discuss Anderson's succession, University Reform leading to a University Bill, action relating to R.T.C. and the movement amongst Muslims in favour of Joint Electorates initiated by Barkat Ali and others. Gave him suitable advice. Sanderson is not an efficient officer, lazy and so likely to leave work in the hands of others. As to who is to succeed Anderson might be left in abeyance. Gave him the outlines of the University constitution under the Bill and told him he better moot the idea of Joint Electorates in Lahore Municipality as this will probably make them realise the importance of the subject.

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12 January *1931, Monday.*

How to organise a party in the Assembly? My view is that it should be a Muslim, European, Hindu, Sikh party to help the backward agricultural, industrial and constitutional. I should like to call it Independent National Unionist Party. The material is available and chances of success good, and the only possible obstacle in the way is Govt. itself. My colleagues may become apprehensive and consider that such a party will be powerful and thus a menace to them. This is so but then Govt. has to make a choice between

obtaining support at a price — modification of Govt. policy by the policy of the supporters.

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13 January 1931, Tuesday.

A long and tedious Budget meeting — We could have done the work in half an hour, and we took nearly three hours over it.

Assembly President's election — Muslim attendance will not be more than 27, and of these 24 should join a Party, and with 8 Hindus and Sikhs added to it, should form a good non-communal party of moderate views. Hindus are trying to form a party, but I. Rangacharya is the only man of ability amongst them, and as he wants to be President he is not in a strong position to form a Party, and in consequence Muslims have a better chance of organising a Party, and this should be done on the 14th.

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14 January 1931, Wednesday.

A very busy day — Assembly sworn in, attendance very good, considering men out of India. Hindus have no striking personality. Their best man is Rangacharya. Muslims have two striking men Abdur Rahim and Rahimtoolah; but they will soon be out of action — Rahimtoolah will become President and Abdur Rahim will 'in disgust' return to Patna because he has not been elected. This will leave Jinnah who is away, as the most leading Muslim. Of the rest, Shah Nawaz, Suhrawardy, Sadiq Hasan, Shafi Daudi, Yamin, Yaqub, Ziauddin, Anwarul Azim are quite good. Had a large At Home of which more tomorrow.

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15 January 1931, Thursday.

Had an At Home — all the Muslim Members of the Assembly. It was a genial and cheery affair. I think the matter about the President will be satisfactorily settled, but little progress is made in the matter of organising a Party.

The Labour Government is proposing to abdicate British Responsibility in India. Complete Provincial autonomy and responsibility at Centre in all except Army and foreign and political and without any settlement of the communal issue as to the constitution of the Legislatures! Horrible. Simon Report and the Government of India despatch in the waste-paper-basket. Parliamentary purposes gone to dogs. Army and foreign only during the transitional stage.

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1 May 1931, Friday.

On 15th of January last writing up of Diary was not done, and it was neglected ever since. Winter Session of the Assembly was partly responsible for this. During the last 3½ months two great events took place — 1. Asghari's first confinement in hospital. It gave me three bad days and nights, and Safia's birth relieved the anxiety. My wife wanted a boy, but what does it matter.

2. Poor Naim's death on 10th March 1931 at a Nursing Home in Cambridge of pneumonia and carbuncle after four days illness. I may as well put in here the sad story. Naim was a headstrong boy, determined in character, but not really strong-minded. He had a lovable disposition, strong character, average intellectual power, application, but not enough persistence as to overcome all obstacles. He specialised in physical culture. Was a natural athlete and did well in sports. In studies he was average. In India he did not grasp the trick of passing Exams. easily. He studied hard at times and did his Exams. fairly well. The only one he failed in once was his B. A., and therein he failed in Persian.

He was most anxious to go to England and somehow I did not want him to go, but he worried his mother to such an extent that she agreed, and I had to give in. He left for England in early August, joined Christ's College Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn, took up History tripos Part II, and had coaching in Essay writing etc. and had settled down to his studies. Spent his mid-term in settling down, passed his vacation partly in London and partly in Jersey and felt like studying steady in Lent Term. On 27th February went to

Oxford to see Mirza Ismail's son, returned to Cambridge on 28th, went to a theatre with Arshad in the evening, had a snow fight in the afternoon on 1st March followed by a cold bath. Appears to have caught chill. Had a swelling on neck too. On 3rd March appears to have felt feverish. One Dr. Price gave him casual medical advice. He was absent on 2nd, 3rd, and 4th and 5th attending lectures, going out to tea and dinner. On 4th Price opened this boil. On 5th in the evening was put to bed. Appears to have had a bad night and on 6th was in bed and fever rose high, in the evening being bad, and a nurse was engaged to look after him. A bad night followed and on 7th was taken to a Nursing Home and in charge of a doctor who consulted a specialist and a surgeon. The diagnosis was — acute pneumonia and carbuncle; and the case was practically hopeless. On 9th, carbuncle was operated upon, and the following night he expired.

Arshad was with him from 7th to the end. Akbar reached on the 9th. Funeral prayers were offered in Cambridge on the 10th and he was buried on the 14th afternoon near Woking mosque in a Muslim cemetery. Poor old Naim — could I have saved you from yourself? You could have been such a help, such a comfort to me, and now I am broken down — in health and in mind. May God help me!

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5 May 1931, Tuesday.

Went to Bombay to see Lord Irwin off and receive Lord Willingdon. Stayed with Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah. Then went to Lahore and reached Simla on the 24th of May. Had the usual Simla arrival indisposition for a week or so.

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27 August 1931, Thursday.

Once more vanity of human wishes! 5th May was the last date on which I wrote the diary. Why was it discontinued? All the explanations really come to laziness. It is true I have had temperature for nearly two months, but it commenced on the 24th of June. It is true I was busy with Reforms work etc. but that was only for a few

weeks. I will not attempt to summarise the happenings of the last 3 or 4 months. This is a gap and let it remain a gap. How will the diary fare in the future only the future can tell, and it is no use indulging in pious wishes.

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28 August 1931, Friday.

Yesterday saw Gandhi converting his defeat and discomfiture into victory. Having failed to gain his objective in Simla last July, he went and threatened the Collector of Surat with all sorts of things. Governments of Bombay and India considered the matter and gave a strong firm reply to Gandhi. He threatened not to go to R.T.C. He was told—does not matter; and the country felt Government still existed and Congress was discomfited. Then Secretary of State appears to have budged in, peacemakers came in, still Govt. tried to be firm, and Congress was climbing down. Gandhi offered to see Emerson, came here on 25th and had a talk with Emerson. Great Britain fought and failed because of defeatist policy of which they were warned, and the final settlement is much worse than the position before this dispute.

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1 November 1931, Sunday—Delhi.

Vanity of human wishes once more. On 25th August resumed writing Diary, and did not proceed any further. This was I believe mainly due to the fact that my health has been deteriorating and from about the middle of June till about the middle of October, for four months, I have had temperature as a rule, and this naturally has weakened me very much. At Lahore, I was in the hands of a dentist from 13th October to 22nd October and although only 11 teeth were extracted, the extraction of these gave lots of trouble, and there was bleeding which further contributed to weakness. Came to Delhi on the 23rd and have been slowly but steadily improving.

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2 November 1931, Monday.

An emergency Executive Council meeting from 12 to 1.15, and an Executive Council Retrenchment Committee meeting from 2.45 to 4.15. Leaves very little time for anything else, and certainly none for rest. In the evening Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah came and had a long talk. Muslim policies in connection with political matters of importance, he recognised, were carefully enunciated, formulated, popularised and then supported. Muslim India knows what the problems are and what Muslim India's views on the problems are and there is a fair amount of unanimity on these matters. There are petty jealousies, and these are facts of human society, but they do not do very much harm to Muslim solidarity.

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3 November 1931, Tuesday.

Another Executive Council Meeting — Cashmere troubles, Bengal troubles, R. T. C. troubles — the one who for the moment has an upper hand does not agree to any reasonable settlement or compromise.

I have had my name taken off the Assembly — too much of a strain. I cannot even talk to a number of Members at my own house without feeling very tired when I had seen two or three while formerly I could go on receiving visitors from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. at a stretch. Well, I must be careful. My South African delegation is causing me a good deal of worry. Who is to officiate for me? I want Muslim solidarity to continue and cannot find the man for it.

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4 November 1931, Wednesday.

Legislative Assembly commenced Supplementary Finance Bill session today. It is a three weeks' session. I have had my name taken off the Assembly as I am not very well. In the Council of State I will have to sit just for 3 or 4 days, and towards the end when I hope to be much stronger.

Delhi is cooler than it was last year this time. I understand it is cooler than normally is the case this time.

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5 November 1931, Thursday.

Litigation — the case that my step brothers had instituted against me in 1922 for succession to father's estate on a principle different from the one adopted under custom and mutual family settlement was decided in their favour by the Senior Sub Judge of Gurdaspur, a Hindu, in 1925, and Sir Shadi Lal's opposition to me was at the bottom of the whole affair, institution and continuance of the suit, and the decision as well. The Sub Judge was reported to have been rewarded by promotion to District Judgeship. Then I had to appeal to the High Court and asked for stay of execution which was refused by a Judge in Chambers. Then I appealed against that to a Bench of the High Court and the appeal was also rejected. The appeal remained pending and was heard on the High Court reopening after vacation in October and was accepted, the judgments and orders of the Senior Sub Judge being reversed with costs. Thus the shares in succession remain as originally arranged. After the senior Sub Judge's order under rendition of accounts Rs. 20,000 was paid to plaintiffs decree holders and they were asked not to take the money but wait till the decision of the appeal. They did not agree to this and have since spent it all. So they have to pay Rs. 26,000 that they took. They will have to pay another 4 or 5000 that they took...

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7 November 1931, Saturday.

...during the last five or six years in excess of their real share, and another 4 or 5 thousand by way of costs—the whole liability comes to about Rs. 35,000/-, and the share of inheritance of the two plaintiffs does not amount to more than Rs. 17 or 18 thousand. This is very largely if not entirely due to the bad advice given to Tafazzul, Afzal, Amjad, and responsibility for it is of Ghulam Janat wife of Afzal [and] Piari Begum wife of Ahmad Said in the first place and of

others in the second place. Unfortunately both Tafazzul and Fazil have no means of livelihood and Tafazzul has a wife and three children, and Fazil has yet a wife only.

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8 November 1931, Sunday.

Air-mail shows that the affairs of the Round Table Conference are at a standstill. This is not unexpected. In fact I have anticipated it all along. Last year's proceedings were in fact a surprise to me, but even then towards the end were very much the same as I had anticipated. Now it seems to me that 1932 will pass in Committees, and there may be part legislation in the cold weather of 1932-3, and provincial elections in 1933, and central legislation in October 1934 or May 1935.

I believe the Round Table Conference will be over by the 19th of November and all the delegates will be back by the first week of December.

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9 November 1931, Monday.

It seems to me I have to go to South Africa. Who is to officiate for me? If from the Assembly, it seems to me that Abdur Rahim is the outstanding personality. After him, I find considerable difficulty in making a selection. From thn Council of State, there is no one suitable enough for the post. From Executive Councillors, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah is probably the ablest and the most experienced, while Chattari is the mildest. Outside—Raza Ali is worth considering. From Government point of view anyone would do, from Muslim point of view, none of them would fill the post in a satisfactory manner.

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10 November 1931, Tuesday.

Cashmere again. The atrocities committed have been alleged to be most horrible; and no provision yet made for enquiry. This is to my mind what is going to prepare the background for the satisfaction

of demands, and so I place a very high value on this part of the problem.

As regards atrocities after the 4th of November we should have a good look out for these must be enquired into by the British, and the incident of the 6th is under investigation.

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11 November 1931, Wednesday.

Most of the tenderness of my mouth due to teeth extraction has gone, and I believe in another ten days will have altogether disappeared, so that I could easily go on the 27th of November for two or three days. I must now settle about my successor.

At the Round Table Conference some decision as to Punjab and Bengal is likely to be arrived—I believe it will give Punjab an odd majority, and Bengal a majority over Hindus, but not over Hindus and Europeans combined, and keep the weightage intact. I do not consider it too bad; but Muslims should agitate then for –(a) working majority for Punjab and Bengal; (b) Reforms for Frontier Province; (c) Separation of Sind; and (d) weightage at the centre.

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12 November 1931, Thursday.

Had an Executive Council [meeting] regarding the Frontier Province constitution. Government of India has gone a step further in giving powers to Ministers and curtailing the interfering powers of the Governor—in fact has *made* Ministers while the Round Table Conference V Committee had only *called* them Ministers. I got allies in H.E., Dunnett, Crerar and even Howell. Rainy was opposing but later withdrew his objection. Bhore would oppose if he could but as the C.-in.C. gave up his opposition, he gave way. Mitter was neutral. I did not press regarding the Legislative Council being entirely elected, but this is a point on which Government will have eventually to give way when the time comes.

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13 November 1931, Friday.

Went to dine out—Viceroy's House—I was the chief guest and took H. E. in. This is the first time I have dined out. It is nice and

pleasant not cold, and yet not warm—mild pleasant weather. The dinner went off very well. Had a long chat with His Excellency after dinner. The dining room is magnificent.

At Executive Council, Bengal was discussed. They are going to have Military round ups, and Mitter was very apprehensive. Last year when the Frontier Province was being ruthlessly dealt with like this Mitter did not care a hang, and now he approves of the ordinance, but says it should not be worked harshly. Then why have it?

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14 November 1931, Saturday.

Their Excellencies gave a Garden Party to the Members of the Assembly. It went off very nicely. The garden is beautiful, and the weather perfect. Had a good opportunity to meet people and talk to them. The Assembly Members were not in a bad mood.

A few days ago met some of the Depressed Classes people who complained bitterly of the treatment they receive from the Hindus and feel they must adopt either Islam or Christianity. There is some trouble as to temple entry at Nasik. Hindu reform movement in this connection is limited to lip sympathy.

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15 November 1931, Sunday.

Met a deputation of the Magsi tribe—feudatories of the Khan of Kalat. Their chief complaint is that Nawab Sir Shamas Shah is so powerful and strong that the A.G.G. and the Khan and the Jirga are all under his thumb, that he has crushed all life out of the people and acts in an autocratic and even tyrannical way and they have suffered very much in consequence of it. They had waited upon Howell and are now waiting to hear from A.G.G. I told them that I could express no opinion not knowing the facts, that one should be patient and try to understand the pros and cons of everything.

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16 November 1931, Monday.

Muslims, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Depressed Classes have agreed upon separate electorates and certain weightages in local and central legislatures. Hindus and

Sikhs have held out. Muslims are given 51 per cent in Bengal and Punjab and 33 per cent in central legislatures. Gandhi has made a great fuss. If this were H. M. G.'s decision, I would advise Muslims to submit to it and raise no protest, if not welcome it, but H.M.G. is no party to it, and I am afraid tactically it reduces Muslim claim to what is in the Agreement. Now Hindus want to refer the problem to the arbitration of Ramsay MacDonald. We are advising Muslim delegation not to agree to arbitration.

Saw Mir Ghulam Bhik and Mirza Ijaz Husain and talked of all sorts of things.

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17 November 1931, Tuesday.

Terrorism in Bengal has led to proposals for restoration of law and good order there. It is intended to have military round ups of the sort done in 1930 in Peshawar district. It is civil "Martial Law", *i.e.* civil authorities are in charge but the machinery is the Army. I warned the Executive Council of the protests it will invite but the ordinance has been approved by the Law Member—a Bengal Hindu, and was supported by Bhore. So there was no occasion for me except to utter my note of warning. It will be a duel between the Hindus and the English, poor Bengal Muslims are too weak and disorganised to take a respectable share in this one way or another. In fact, this may be made the occasion for starting C. D. O. [Civil Disobedience] again. Politics in India are so run that Government is a party and if Muslims join in as a party, Government wants to get out of it *e.g.*, Cownpore. Congress was enforcing a Hartal against Government, Muslims joined in and Government clean went out of it and Muslims had to bear the brunt of it and then were punished for it by Government.

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19 November 1931, Thursday.

Affairs in the Frontier Province continue to be unsatisfactory. Officials don't care a hang as to the districts. There is no local self-government. There is no co-operation between the officials and the non-officials of the old type and things are as bad as they can be. What is wanted is close co-operation, and for the present there seems

to be no hope for it. The official mind is for "strong" rule, no tact, nothing. There is the Regulation Committee, its report is not yet out. I find that the Frontier Province is not under the Government of India direct, but is under the Political Department direct, and the Department consults the Departments concerned. I am going to get this cleared up and take a strong line about it. I am no more concerned about the administration of education or medicine there, than in an Indian state. However, we have done a little good by recommending that the Ministry of the proposed reforms in the Frontier should have some responsibility and the Governor's executive powers be with reference to the borderland and not the settled districts.

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21 November 1931, Saturday.

Taxation etc. Membership of H. E. the Governor-General's Council is the biggest post in India after some Governorships, but financially the post means little. We are supposed to get Rs. 6666 a month. Before 1931 taxation, Rs. 800 went to taxes and 800 for house rent and one got nearly 5000. Now additional taxation [and] 10 per cent cut will leave about 4300, and if one were to do the necessary entertaining, at least 2300 a month goes in it; and if one is running a house in Lahore as I am doing, another 1200 a month is gone, leaving annual savings at the most at 10,000. This is on the assumption that no curtains or covers or other requisites need replacing, and there are no marriages or other functions taking place. A Member or Minister in one's province is not worse off financially than a Member of Central Government.

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23 November 1931, Monday.

Round Table Conference has taken many turns. There was the British myth that the Indian Policy was a fixed one irrespective of the party in power. Now it is very clearly demonstrated that the Indian policy of the three parties—Conservative, Liberal and Labour—differ widely, and in fact within a party different wings have different policies, *e.g.* Labour at least two; even Liberals—"Readingites" for diarchy in the centre and "Simonites" for no responsi-

bility at the centre; and in the case of Conservatives — Irwin [and] Baldwin for diarchy and some responsibility at the centre, the rest for none. So there are four clear and distinct schools —

1. Parliamentary responsibility at the centre and nominal safeguards regarding army and financial matters and settlement regarding British interests.
2. Provincial autonomy and diarchy — a little responsibility at the centre—Reading, Irwin, Baldwin, MacDonald.
3. Provincial autonomy, fairly large and no responsibility at the centre.
4. Provincial autonomy some and no responsibility at the centre.

The struggle now is between 2 and 3. Indian Liberals favour 2. With their representation mode and quantity agreed to, Muslims are prepared to agree to 2 or 3.

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25 November 1931, Wednesday.

Public Service Commission appointment. Raza Ali's term of office expired. A Muslim was to be appointed. There were very numerous candidates. Crerar discussed the case with me and was inclined to make a political appointment. I told him we must select a few of the best men irrespective of political colouring and then within them adjustments might be attempted on political grounds. He agreed. We ruled out old retired men over 56. We also felt that those in service better stay where they are. Then we formed two lists — Class I — high academic distinctions and experience of the work expected of them —— [?] My list of Class I was — Muhammad Iqbal, Suhrawardy, Shah Nawaz, Dr. Hyder. List of Class II — Hafiz Hidayat Khan, Yamin Khan, Yaqub, Zulfiqar Ali Khan.

Crerar, I understood, had put up Yaqub, Iqbal and Hyder and H. E. has selected Dr. Hyder. He is not a bad choice, steady man, though not a warm hearted companion. However, experience will supply what he lacks at present and on the whole I think he will do very well. I would have pressed hard for Iqbal to the end if that fool

had not sent a cable saying he has resigned from the Round Table Conference while others have not.

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27 November 1931, Friday.

My successor during my absence in South Africa.

We were hard put to find my successor. I looked to the central legislature for him and Sir Abdur Rahim was naturally the man to select, but my colleagues did not want him, objected to him and so he was dropped. Since we were not going to appoint him we could not add insult to injury by appointing someone else from the central legislature. Our next field for selection was Executive Councillors and there Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah was probably the best, but H. E. did not approve of him. Then we were left to the third source "open market" and there were Shafi, Raza Ali and many more. Of these, Shafi had wide legislative experience, 5½ years experience as Executive Councillor. Moreover I felt that his seniority would render him immune from attacks and the stakes of the office will be safe in his keeping. On the political side, he will do little harm especially when Conservative Government is in power. It is true he has no opinion of his own, but then in the Executive Council there is no one of sufficiently str ong views to lead him astray and the general trend of Government of India's policy is not such as to necessitate their trying to let down Muslims.

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29 November 1931, Sunday.

South African Delegation — Well, I am going. With me there will be — Sastri, Corbett, Darcy Lindsay, Bajpai from the last delegation and Mrs. Naidu a new one. I have decided to take Nasim with me as Private Secretary at my own expense to see visitors for me.

I had an Executive Council meeting and told H. E. and my colleagues that the position of Indian Delegation in the Conference was a most unpleasant one — suppliants begging for alms and not negotiators. We had no sanction behind us while the Union Government had the whip-hand. I asked for authority to break off in case

we were forced to agree to intolerable things. After all, our intercession did but little good, and what they appeared to put off for the time being they could bring up again within the next few years. H.E. was strongly of my view; others were a bit hesitant, but eventually were prepared to leave great deal of discretion in my hands. Our brief is almost ready and we shall now be getting things going for our mission.

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1 December 1931, Tuesday.

Temperament and character play a great part in one's career. A young man who cannot pull on with others or is engaged in making plans for his advancement or for obstructing some one else's advancement thereby runs the risk of spoiling his own career. Last January the managing body of Red Cross appointed one Mr. Mirza as Director of Junior Red Cross on Rs. 750 a month. He possessed very good qualifications. His probation period is expiring and it appears that he has been quarrelling with both the Secretary and Assistant Secretary, in particular the latter. Committee interviewed him and came to the conclusion that there was something wrong about him.

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2 December 1931, Wednesday.

Sir John Marshall's matter is giving considerable trouble. He was called for interview and came this morning. Obviously his special duty engagement was not a business-like act, and it is impossible to undo what has been done. As a palliative, it struck me that one-fourth of his pay be deferred and made payable out of royalties as they accrue. This seems to me a fair course to adopt.

Saw Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. I believe he is engaged by the Maharaja of Cashmere and will make a good bit out of it. Since the engagement is not to be made public, he will get all the more out of it.

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3 December 1931, Thursday.

Said good-bye to H.E. as he is going to Calcutta tomorrow and I will not see him again before leaving for South Africa. Mentioned

to him about Nasim going at his own expense, and he was very pleased. South African Delegation means to me: 1 — 1100 × 2½ = 2750; 2 — Nasim's expenses — 1500 in all, in all Rs. 4250. However, I consider it as a part of my duty and though there is loss of money and loss of reputation, still I must do as an unpleasant and unprofitable duty. Outfit will cost another Rs. 1000 or so.

At 10.30 p. m. we heard the happy news of birth of Nasim & Shamim's first son. May he live long and be healthy and good and prove a blessing to his family.

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4 December 1931, Friday.

We distributed some sweets on the child's birth, and I answered telegrams of congratulations. I was in office till 2 p. m. and then felt tired and out of sorts, so had to take to bed in the afternoon. I have not taken salts for more than four or five weeks and I suppose I should have a clearance.

Rafi and his wife came with their congratulations. Shafi is coming in my place; they did not know. They were happy about it. D. B. [Dewan Bahadur] Sir Vijayaragavacharia is ill and bad I am told — poor fellow.

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5 December 1931, Saturday.

Having had no dinner last night and no breakfast this morning, I feel ever so much better. Tried new suits. Discussed cases with Howell, Wylie (Foreign Department), Noyce, Bajpai and Marshall. I think I have settled Marshall's case on a sound principle — 3/4th pay and the balance out of royalties which ought to materialise in 1933 or 1934 in any case. I think he will finish Sanchi in 1932 and also the Guides to Taxila and Sanchi; and go ahead with Taxila writing.

I had a long talk with Ranga Iyer. He took up the line that for the time being he was in the hands of Hindu communalists, but was hoping gradually to bring them round and establish better feeling than prevailed.

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6 December 1931, Sunday.

Saw lots of people, Zafrulla, Ghulam Bhik, Ghulam Mohiyuddin, Raza Ali, did correspondence and had a good rest. I trust Muslims will not make their position worse than it is. The Minorities agreement was not so bad but only publication and the circumstances attending it were pretty bad and this should be made pretty clear to H. M. G. through Conference and League and claim for population basis in Punjab and Bengal be reinforced — 56 and 55 and nothing less. Raza Ali is returning to Bar or public life. It will probably be to both.

Fazil s/o Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah came to see me last night and discussed with me.

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7 December 1931, Monday.

1. Had a busy day. Frontier Province looks like getting Montagu-Chemlsford Reforms, Punjab pattern. This is eminently satisfactory. Both sides should welcome them.
2. Depressed Classes want to be helped. The backward should be supported, all to the good.
3. Muslims are getting on with organisation, but it is in hands not altogether desirable. This is perhaps the fate of all such organisations.
4. Shafi's officiating appointment has been well received. I am glad of it, for I could not have made a more suitable choice, and I think our cause will suffer the least in this way.

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8 December 1931, Tuesday.

Saw Sir John Thompson about Muslim politics in Delhi, Depressed Classes and a seat for them in Delhi, and Cashmere *Jathas*. He said he was going next March on leave preparatory [to] retirement — an able officer with a grievance. He would have liked to have served in the Punjab as President of Legislative Council or as a Secretary. 1919 Disturbances did him as he was so closely associated with Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In 1921, he made a mistake in asking Sir Edward Maclagan to hear him why he should be employed in the Punjab

reformed administration. Decision was given against him and he was given a permanent Political Secretaryship. He was believed to be successful till Princes got against him. Then he was made Chief Commissioner Delhi.

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9 December 1931, Wednesday.

1. Saw Nawab [of] Dera and asked him to warn moderate people in the Frontier Province to get busy. He is loyal and anxious to please, but not much drive or ability.
2. Saw Mufti Kifayatullah, Maulvi Ahmad Said and Khawaja Hasan Nizami and Haji Abdulla Haroon and talked to them Muslim politics—Jinnah's views—a. Punjab and Bengal should have population basis majorities; b. On population basis, prefer Joint Electorates, no objection to Separate Electorates; c. Not committed to following Congress. We must have this distinction brought out.
3. Retrenchment is proceeding apace, but it seems to me that it is more a boast than a reality, more a waste than economy, a diversion to cover the heavy taxation.

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10 December 1931, Thursday.

Governments are marching fast. Bengal ordinance is like Rowlatt Act and when Bengal is aflame, Bihar and Orissa will join in; U. P. is ready to flare up and C. P. is a strong Congress centre. This means upper India minus Punjab. N. W. F. P. is the Congress now, so there is likely to be trouble. Burma has rebellion in it. Reforms are withheld. Defiance of authority is on the increase, anti-British feeling is strong, Government is taking action, and collision and trouble follow. Conservative Government will not withdraw, so very exciting times are ahead — unfortunate India, whenever the Reforms are near, trouble comes and spoils things — can't be helped.

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11 December 1931, Friday.

Had a busy day. Retrenchment Committee meeting, visitors, files, closing down household, a great deal of miscellaneous work to

do. Got through most of it though not without some strain. All sorts of things are impending—great excitement, great uncertainty. My............

12 December 1931, Saturday.

Reached Lahore. Saw the dentist who took off the root which was left in. Then saw Harkishan Lal who looks well and Shahabuddin whose sight is restored to a certain extent. Then went to Sikander's At Home.

Mian Ali Ahmad Khan suddenly came and others also came to say good-bye.

Ordered shirts etc. Preparations are afoot.

13 December 1931, Sunday.

Had a very busy day—lots and lots of visitors, etc. Muhammad Said and Ahmad Said came. Saw a large number of Lahore leaders and had a long talk with deMontmorency. Paid a visit to Shadi Lal who had come to me at Delhi. He looked well but complained of pains and his troubles returning in India.

There is a feeling of approaching trouble everywhere. My permanent set of teeth is ready, will probably be an improvement on the temporary one.

14 December 1931, Monday.

A busier day than ever. Settled Lady H's accounts. Yesterday had a long talk with H. E. Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency about the Ahrars and Cashmere, ordinance, withdrawal of troops, talks of pressures with their friends outside. Discussed U. P. and Bengal and the probabilities of a blow up in the near future. We had a long talk about the Frontier Province and agreed that Reforms should be introduced as early as possible. Saw Shadi Lal. Went to the High Court Bar Association. Saw Shafi.

Asaf is probably out of sorts and not quite happy and satisfied. Left in the evening by Frontier Mail.

15 December 1931, Tuesday.

Nasim had a bad throat when he started, but is ever so much better today. Noyce, Reid, Ramchandra and Lincoln met us at Delhi. Zafrulla and some city people had also come. Did some files and am taking only one servant with me. The railway journey is a long one. Towards the evening it was quite warm. I feel much better—almost quite well and not tired and weary as I used to do. I trust the sea voyage will improve matters still further.

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16 December 1931, Wednesday.

Stayed in the saloon till 11.45 a.m., wrote letters to my wife, children and friends. Got uniform for the bearer who had left his clothes there. Purchased a few things and some fruit. Lunched with Governor and gave him a statement to be sent to H. E. the Viceroy by code advising that Parliamentary leader to preside over committees better not come for the present and should start only in case the political condition here does not become bad, and at all events wait till Gandhi has been here a week or so. Saw Sir Ibrahim, Rafiuddin and others who gave us a good send-off.

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23 December 1931, Wednesday.

Today is the 23rd of December. I have failed to write up the diary, but this has not been due either to laziness or to indisposition, but to sheer hard work. I am reading up the relevant literature so as to be familiar with the South African problem and in a position to do my work satisfactorily. I have finished the work I had allotted to the seven days ending with 23rd and so have taken up the diary to bring up to date in the hope that I will be able to write it up regularly.

During this week, we have had a good run, smooth on the whole though the sea has been troublesome. My daily routine has been—6.30 a.m.—tea; 8.30 a.m.—light breakfast; 1 p.m.—light lunch; 7 p.m.—dinner. One lime juice drink at 7.30 a.m. and another 2 p.m.; rest, lying down and a little sleep for half an hour between 2 and 3.30 p.m. I read 6.30 to 8 a.m.; 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., 4 to 6.30 p.m. I

have kept very well though the food seems to be upsetting the stomach now. We will be in Mombasa for 36 hours, wonder if that will give some relief.

Accommodation—We had double berth cabins and they felt small, the Captain has given us 3 berth cabins, largest in the ship, one for me, one for Mr. Bajpai one for Nasim and one for office. We have only a few first class passengers—9 Europeans and 4 or 5 Indians, one has a family - a wife and 3 kids. They are all nice people. Sir T. Davidson, his wife and daughter met me at the Governor's house in Bombay. I think a majority of them are going to get down at Mombasa and very few will be left with us. May be some passengers will come from Mombasa.

Had messages of good will from H.E. and others. Some have been answered by the wireless, others will be answered from Mombasa.

Had a wireless from one Jiwanjee from Mombasa asking for a Garden Party. I have sent a wireless reply thanking him and saying that we will have a talk about the Garden Party there.

Reuter's telegrams indicate that in U.P. some arrests have been made but no news about Bengal. Perhaps things are simmering for the present.

It has been pretty warm. We are on the main top deck. I have two fans in my cabin and it is still warm. In fact weather is warm enough for summer suits. However, light winter suits are not unbearable. What a change from Lahore where it is bitterly cold.

We were talking the other day about India having a Navy. The civil traffic and cargo traffic—what organisation, what capital—obtaining Reforms will not and cannot make up for such deficiencies as still exist and the question is should we make good these deficiencies and then take over, or take over and make good these deficiencies. The reply must to a very large extent depend upon John Bull's attitude. If he behaves fairly, a large section of Indians will be patient, but faith in J.B.'s [John Bull] fairness and honesty has dis-

appeared and hence the trouble. Even in comparatively trivial matters J.B. is for his pound of flesh and so the most patient of us become despondent.

South African Conference—I must say I do not see my way clear yet. We have no programme worth mentioning. Have the Union Government any? Are they satisfied with assisted emigration experiment? If not, what more they want from us? Their pending legislation—obviously not a very friendly measure. Is there need for it? Is the evil at all pressing? Is it possible to explore other places for assisted emigration and drop the Bill? This will be adhering to the policy of 1927. We could wish for nothing better especially if a Japan agreement sort of thing is thrown in.

———

24 December 1931, Thursday.

I have sent up books and files prepared for me according to the time-table made for myself. In fact I have done the work fixed for the 28th as well, as we are likely to be very busy there and [may] not find time to do much reading. It has become quite warm and I have no summer things, so I have asked Nasim to get some for me from Mombasa.

Many passengers will be getting down at Mombasa. I have dictated my letters and am sending a cable of safe arrival here.

———

25 December 1931, Friday.

We reached early. The Governor was away [from] Mombasa camp, but he even came to welcome us and a large number of Indians came to receive us. Mr. Jiwanjee, one of the family of Jiwanjees, a rich and influential family, Pandya, Dr. Sheth, Mr. Mollik Barrister, Mr. Rahim Barrister, Mr. Shamsuddin, Dr. from Shahpur and others. They took us to have a drive in Mombasa, then we had lunch at the Jiwanjee's, Garden Party from the Ismailis of the Aga Khan and dinner from Dr. Sheth on behalf of the Indian National Association at which many speeches were made. So I have spoken twice already —not set speeches but extempore, roping in some common sense

advice. Returned at 11.15 p.m. but the ship officers and 1st saloon passengers carried on their festivities till after 1 and so had a bad night.

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26 December 1931, Saturday.

Mombasa. A busy day again. Breakfasted with Mr. Rijb Ali, a nice quiet man of culture. Has a beautiful house a little outside Mombasa. Gave a sumptuous breakfast, the drive was enjoyable and so was the scenery from Rijb Ali's to here. Lunched with Jiwanjee, nearly 80 present. Many speeches made, strong, earnest and enthusiastic, a very important function. People are very hospitable. Muslims are doing well and it is a pity that Hindus are creating cleavage and trouble. I advised them to hold together as far and as long as possible. They came to say good-bye to me.

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27 December 1931, Sunday. *Zanzibar.*

We called on the President and then on the Sultan, had lunch with another Jiwanjee—a very good and sumptuous lunch—a beautiful house. We were received by a large number of people, press, public, Members of Council. Mr. Dinshah took us out for a drive. He has a charming wife. We went to Mr. Jiwanjee's house for rest, changed there and then went for a drive with the President and his wife. He had asked Members of Council and others to dine with us. Placed his problems of education, medical relief and taxation before me, gave me copies of his despatches. Had a nice time.

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28 December 1931, Monday. Dar us Salam.

Reached early. Governor's Private Secretary asked us to breakfast and lunch. We accepted lunch only. Called on Governor at 10, visited Indian Association where an address was presented and replied to. Then went to an Anjuman where an address was presented and replied to, then to Ismailis who gave us tea. Then we inspected a Girls School for Indians and an Ismaili Girls School—both

good. Then proceeded to lunch with the President. Both of his Members of Council are Muslims—one came from Multan and the other from Karachi—both nice men.

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29 December 1931, Tuesday.

The passage was bit rough. I settled down to work after the last five days festivities and brought my reading and mailing up to date. The ship food has begun to be obnoxious and does not seem to suit and I am afraid I may have lost weight because I do not drink fresh creamy milk any more—in fact none since the 14th instant. However, my cough is not bad, but is better and sputum, though congealed, less in quantity. Health on the whole I should say middling.

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30 December 1931, Wednesday.

Reached Mozambique—went ashore, a quiet humdrum place where the natives, the Indians and the Europeans are all at peace, no frictions, no animosities, no hatreds. Streets are wide and clean, European and Indian shops all mixed up, and in vegetable market, natives selling all things and there are no racial and communal troubles so far as one can see. One Taemohamed Haji Adamji met us. I understood one of his sons to say that they wanted to arrange some sort of welcome to the Delegation but others opposed it, so it was dropped.

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31 December 1931, Thursday.

News from India—Jawahar Lal and some more arrested in U.P. and Abdul Ghaffar and five hundred or more arrested in the Frontier Province; and the Bengal ordinance is being worked yet very cautiously. What will happen during the next few weeks?

1. Congress on the defensive only—not likely, but if it does happen then Government will establish its prestige, give provincial autonomy under two safeguards—a) Minorities; b) Peace and good order, wide powers vesting in Governor and Governor-General, and diarchy at the centre.

2. Congress—local C. D. O.—temporary phase, merging into 1 above or 3 below.

3. Congress—all India C. D. O.—a strenuous struggle. Who will be for Government? In the beginning—Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Depressed Classes and Muslims; while Hindu Liberals will be sitting on the fence. Will Government retain Muslim support or alienate it by repression in the Frontier Province? Probabilities are that it will alienate it and thus a strong party will form itself—Congress Muslims in the Frontier Province—and this will encourage the development of Ahrar in the Punjab, *i.e.* Muslims in the Punjab divided and Muslims as a strong separate entity disappear from Indian politics. This will lead to all Hindus and most of the Muslims combining against Government.

Date 1/1/32.

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1 January 1932, Friday.

We were in Beira (a Portuguese port in East Africa) on our way to South Africa—the Indian Delegation. Beira is an important port—serves Rhodesia and Nayasaland. I have noticed that the Portuguese raise no colour questions, do not over-administer, let things take their course. They do not hustle and they do not hurry. In Beira, Indians, both Hindus and Muslims from Gujerat and Kathiawar, are doing very well—not only in trading as such but in working agencies, etc. A number of Indians, mostly Muslims, came to see us and took us to Beira and then on a long drive. It was pleasant and refreshing.

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2 January 1932, Saturday.

Started from Beira at 10 a.m. and some nice breeze set in and by the afternoon there was a little drizzle, while the evening presented a most fascinating scene of mild lightning all round and some rain.

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3 January 1932, Sunday.

India is on the eve of a struggle between the Congress and the Government—D.O.R.A. [?] has been applied to, I believe, Bengal, U. P., and the N. W. F. P. and is going to be applied to Bombay. Apparently, the plan is to arrest the leaders, declare political organizations to be unlawful and restore the Rule of Law. Just at the start, Government is in a position of advantage—Europeans, Anglo-Indians, most of the Indian Christians, most of the Depressed classes, most of the Muslims are against Congress and the general Hindu mentality of grab power, but Muslim defection may come about if the repression in the Frontier Province is in excess of what it is in the rest of India. The Frontier Province's difficulties are—(a) absence of newspaper or news agency; (b) absence of determined, enlightened, advanced, but non-extremist leaders; (c) trans-border tribe bogey; (d) harsh, incompetent and vindictive officials; again, Punjab runs the risk of being roped in, because of the anti-Cashmere State agitation.

Gandhi had asked H. E. for interview and said that on its failure he will start C. D. O. Government of India have refused to grant this interview as it is based on a threat of breach of law. This is interesting.

This was the last day of our sea journey; the sea was rough and I felt a bit giddy. Luckily, the weather was nice and cool and a nice breeze on my cabin side, so I spent it in my cabin and took no lunch, tea or dinner, had my biscuits, an ice [and some champagne].

This saved me from being actually sick.

———

4 January 1932, Monday.

At Laurenzo Marques we had a great reception—people of the place, those who came from the Transvaal and Natal, representatives of the Union Government, representative of the British Government here and so on. We had a very good drive, had 11 o'clock tea at Melane Hotel, and did some more driving and came back to our Saloon to lunch. We had an excellent lunch. South African

Saloons are not very good, rather small, but the pantry and the kitchen are better than ours. In the afternoon, it was quite hot and the country not very impressive.

———

5 January 1932, Tuesday.

We reached Pretoria in the morning. The night was nice and cool but [I] did not get up till 8.30 a.m. Lady Mayoress of Pretoria called on us and Gen. Hertzog's Personal Secretary called on us and we had talks and drinks. We went to see the Mint where sovereigns are minted. We went to see the Mint Secretariat—fine building very well situated. We went to the Lady Mayoress for her 11 o'clock tea and we had a very pleasant morning. Then we went to the Pretoria Branch of the South African Congress. There was a large gathering and many speeches were made. I saw the location there. We left Pretoria at 2 and reached Johannesburg at 4 p.m. There was a very large gathering of men, women and children—garlands, welcomes, bouquets. There is some display of jealousy and ill-feeling but I have no doubt I will be able to put it right. There is some friction between the Women's organizations. I believe the Press are doing us well and Reuter's man is on special duty with the delegation. We are staying at Carlton's—which is believed to be a very good Hotel.

News from India continues to be bad. Gandhi is already arrested.

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6 January 1932, Wednesday.

A very busy day.

Mrs. Naidu and Sir Darcey Lindsay and Sastri's P. A. arrived and had a good reception.

We received the Transvaal Congress Deputation and had a long discussion with them—two hours or so. Then we went out to see how Indian and European shops were all mixed up and how impossible it was to segregate the two. The Mayor of Johannesburg gave us a lunch to which leading men and women Councillors were invited. It was a select gathering. In the afternoon, we received two deputa-

tions, one from the Chamber of Commerce—two leading Muslims of Durban, Moosa and another. They are the opposition to the Congress because suitable office is not found for their leader—another from the Federation which seems to consist of those who have not succeeded to come into limelight on the Congress platform. They had nothing particular to say. I gave back the deputation sound advice and I think, in Cape Town, they will all combine and the so-called rupture will disappear.

In the evening, after Dinner, we went to the public meeting and many effective speeches were made.

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7 January 1932, Thursday.

Received sad news of Shafi's death—so full of life and vitality, and so well when I left him in Lahore. Here Mrs. Naidu said Shafi was keeping bad health in London. Financially, he has not left his widow and son well provided and both have led expensive lives. Iqbal must be spending very nearly Rs. 1000 a month. If God wills, Iqbal may turn out to be a success. What is against him is his health—very poor, delicate and nervy, and Lady Shafi is also very weak and wrapped up in the boy who is in England and she has led a busy social life on an expensive scale. May God rest his soul in peace and do the very best possible for the bereaved family.

We cancelled Delegation's engagements for the morning on account of the news and sent message of sympathy to Lady Shafi.

Saw two or three locations in the afternoon.

Nasim caught a chill last night and had to leave him and the Bearer, while we proceeded to Cape Town. Mrs. Naidu is staying behind. This is a great nuisance, but there is no help for it. I myself feel very tired. Our train left at 10.45 p.m.

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8 January 1932, Friday.

Long railway journey is very tiring. Gen. Hertzog's saloon was also on this train and he asked us to see him at 11 and have tea with him. I was very favourably impressed by him—a good and a genuine

man. He wishes India well and he is for continuing to be friendly in the matter of South African Indians.

We passed through fruit farms; the day was pretty warm. At Kimberley, the Mayor, the Bishop and others extended a very warm welcome to us—an English Counsel apparently, and said Indians in South Africa should have a fair deal.

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9 January 1932, Saturday.

Reached Cape Town at 10.45. Lots of people to meet us. Met Dr. Malan. Felt tired; and after lunch got temperature and went to bed. The temperature was 100.6 and I felt very thirsty. No news about Nasim. This made me anxious. Towards evening got wire saying he is free from temperature. Had telephonic talk—he will be leaving for Cape Town tonight.

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10 January 1932, Sunday.

Had Allophin last night and salts this morning and had motions but not full and clear ones. The temperature continued round about 100. This shows I am in for the usual bout and it may mean several days. I can't have a doctor, as he will take time to study the history of my case. In the evening we called in a doctor; he examined me and said there was nothing serious, and wanted to treat me by injections, but I asked him to wait.

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11 January 1932, Monday.

Nasim reached safely, is a bit pulled down, but free from temperature.

Had a bad night. Fever is on the increase, and I do not know what to do. If pneumonia intervenes, chances of recovery will be poor. Got a nurse in the evening; cancelled all engagements.

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12 January 1932, Tuesday.

Moved to a Nursing Home, called in a specialist for consultation. They decided to give me an injection to safeguard against

pneumonia intervening. Had two nurses. Injection given, temperature rose to 104. Narrow escape.

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13 January 1932, Wednesday.

Temperature fell to 100.6; but passed a bad day. In the evening gave a second injection, temperature rose to 103, and passed a bad night.

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14 January 1932, Thursday.

Temperature fell to 99, but passed a bad day, though the doctor said the danger was averted. In the evening gave a third injection but the temperature did not rise. The night was bad.

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15 January 1932, Friday.

Temperature round about 99, condition much better, had good sleep.

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16 January 1932, Saturday.

Temperature normal, stomach and bowels being cleared, lungs getting free. Serious attack is over.

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17 January 1932, Sunday.

Improving.

Had to leave Conference work alone. Conference opened on 12th, Dr. Malan made his statement on 13th, and our delegation made a statement in reply on the 15th, discussed on 16th, and further discussion will take place on 18th, as I am just in time to take up the threads of negotiations. The Union Govt. are not in a nice mood.

Nasim is getting on nicely. His health is good. He is getting into work and is making himself useful.

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18 January 1932, Monday.

Have been seeing Bajpai, Corbett, Mrs. Naidu, Reddi, Darcey Lindsay—they all, and in particular Sastri, seem to be quite happily engaged in their little spheres. Had talks with Andrews.

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19 January 1932, Tuesday.

Saw Rustomjee, Christopher and several others. They are all anxious that I should get to Conference and take a strong line. I had a short talk with them. Health steadily improving.

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20 January 1932, Wednesday.

Progress of health a bit retarded. Held another consultation of specialists who have recommended a course of six injections to take the place of medicines which they have decided to reduce to a mixture three times a day before meals, as an appetiser and for liver and stomach. Then I am to take Naqi's two pills at bed time, and 20 drops in a cup of milk for sleep. They have assured me that the injections can do no harm and are very likely to do good.

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21 January 1932, Thursday.

Bajpai told me that the Conference had reached a crisis as the Indian leaders have refused to agree to an Enquiry being made as to assisted emigration to a suitable place. This means a break-up of the Conference, and the Union Government proceed to pass the Transvaal Bill, give assent to the Local Council Bill, revive the Area Reservation Bill, and in short concentrate on making the lives of Indians in South Africa as unpleasant as possible. The Indian delegates did their best today, but the Indian [*sic.* South African ?] leaders refused to agree, so that Conference brought to a close. After careful consideration I decided that Dr. Malan should be taken into our confidence and bluntly told what the position is; and the holding of the Conference meeting tomorrow or putting it off till next Monday be left to him. In case it is put off, I will see some of the leaders and do what I can. Dr. Malan decided in favour of putting off tomorrow's Conference meeting till the 25th when I hope to be present.

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22 January 1932, Friday.

Saw Christopher, Hajiji and Sorabji in the morning. The result was satisfactory, and decided that I with my delegation meet the Congress leaders and the Executive in the afternoon at 3.30 p.m. at Weybury—Sorabji's residence. We went there. Christopher was difficult —his main point is that the Congress be free to advise against emigration to India; and that our agreement should not commit the Congress to the view that it agree to assisted emigration to India. Whether this forms part of the Agreement or not is far too early to say yet. We all agreed that it is best to discuss all items and then see what can be done, and having put all the items on the debit side or credit side, come to the conclusion whether to have agreement or not.

Then we went to Botanical Gardens—charming and most pleasant grounds, but had very short time there. I have had my injection and I believe I am progressing fairly well.

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23 January 1932, Saturday.

Yesterday I did too much and in the evening talked for a long time with Dr. Claxton, and so had a restless night. Had my third injection, passed a busy morning, had a little sleep, and then went at 3 p.m. to the Botanical Gardens and spent there more than three hours and had tea there—a very nice place and I am sure benefited a great deal. It was very refreshing and I believe invigorating. It is no use being cooped up in my bedroom in the Nursing Home or even in the Hotel.

Today was the mail day—I have sent out scores of picture cards, to as many people as I could remember and wrote a long letter to my wife. Have sent a cable to H.E. to put out a communique about my illness and recovery as cables are coming in and it is not easy answering them.

Doctor says I may attend the Conference on Monday and move to the hotel on Tuesday.

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24 January 1932, Sunday.

Was out. Felt fairly well.

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25 January 1932, Monday.

Attended the Conference; made a statement on Transvaal Bill, and afterwards the South African delegation put questions to bring out the weakness of the Indian delegation case. We really want the disabling laws to be repealed; but we know that the South African Government will not and probably cannot get them repealed. In the alternative, we, knowing that the disabling laws are not rigidly enforced, would prefer the *status quo* to be maintained. This the South African Government do not want to do—hence the Indian problem. After some discussion we dispersed to meet tomorrow.

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26 January 1932, Tuesday.

Mrs. Naidu made a statement about the reply of the Congress people *re* Assisted Emigration to Brazil etc. Enquiry, and there was some discussion after it about assisted emigration to India and elsewhere; and at its conclusion, discussion of the Transvaal Bill was resumed, and after a while adjourned till tomorrow.

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27 January 1932, Wednesday.

I left the Nursing Home today, and after Conference went to the Hotel. I have had some injections which Dr. Claxton has been giving me in the hips.

In the Conference we discussed the Transvaal Bill. The South African Delegation took the view that no conclusion be reached, but that a Committee of the Indian Delegation can take up the matter with the Minister in charge (Dr. Malan). This means that it should not have been on the agenda of the Conference. I stated so, and agreed let it be so.

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28 January 1932, Thursday.

Delegation has been meeting every day, and some days more than once. We appointed Corbett and Bajpai to discuss the Transvaal Bill with Dr. Malan and his officers.

They held a discussion and it was agreed that the points made by them should be incorporated in a Note, and then Dr. Malan will state what can be done. This will be done tomorrow. Corbett and Bajpai have turned out quite a good note.

———

29 January 1932, Friday.

Met Dr. Malan and had a general talk.

Going to have a detailed talk with him on the question of the Transvaal Ordinance. As to the Transvaal Bill he says he cannot consult his Select Committee within a few days, but will be able to tell us his conclusions with them before we land in Bombay on the 27th [Feb.]. We told him that the Agreement or Joint Statement will not include a reference to the Transvaal Bill, but the Select Committee's handling of the points raised would show whether the goodwill which is necessary for the Joint Statement to be based on and to develop is forthcoming or not. As to the Transvaal Ordinance, it is a flagrantly unjust and unfair measure contrary to the Congress Committee's report, and is sure to be abused by the local bodies. Dr. Malan relied on the autonomy of Provincial legislatures and Governments. I told him that the Indians were not represented on local bodies or local legislatures, and so it was the duty of the Minister to protect them against their own party by persuasion, negotiation, etc., and that if this can't be done then the racially constituted legislatures will crush under-represented communities out of existence. He promised to do his best. I attach very great value to this Ordinance, because it is much worse than the Transvaal Bill and once it begins to operate, the Minister cannot interfere to protect Indians.

———

30 January 1932, Saturday.

Bajpai and Corbett report that they have achieved a certain measure of success about the Transvaal Bill. Now the question is—

are we to have an Agreement or Joint Statement, and how is it to be prepared. Dr. Malan said there should be one, and that each delegation should prepare one and then harmonise the two. He had attempted a draft already, and showed it to us. We on return from him had a delegation meeting and decided upon having one draft.

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31 January 1932, Sunday.

We have agreed upon a draft and Bajpai showed it to Dr. Malan. Dr. Malan says his people don't want a draft, so the matter was taken to General Hertzog and thereafter Dimal, the whole thing was thrashed out, and one draft with certain amendments was adopted, and Dr. Malan was to tell us about it tomorrow, and the meeting of the Conference was provisionally fixed for Tuesday.

I was for the first time out this evening to have dinner with Hertzog. I thought it was to be an early affair, we will discuss the thing with him from 6 to 7, and have dinner, and return by 8, but we did not finish till 10, and I was very tired. However, the matter has been, for the time being, fixed up.

———

1 February 1932, Monday.

Saw my doctors—Dr. Morae and Dr. Claxton. I was with them for 1½ hours. Their advice is—

1. Have all or almost all teeth out—pyorrhoea pockets tend to harbour germs which may make lung condition worse;

2. Dr. Morae's injection—he says it is very good, and wards off pneumonia setting in, or acute lung condition developing.

3. They find abdomen in a bad way and are making recommendations on that point.

4. Lungs and tubes—they do not consider bad, and

5. Heart they consider distinctly good.

Bajpai saw Dr. Malan and was told in the evening that his delegation do not agree to the draft and suggest omitting the two clauses

which lay down the Union Government's policy regarding Indians. This we must take up later on.

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2 February 1932, Tuesday.

We had a very anxious day—our draft was rejected by the Union Delegation, and instead they wanted the omission of Uplift Clauses, while retaining the Assisted Emigration Clauses. This was altogether unacceptable to us. In the alternative they wanted a bare extension of the Agreement for one year—this was also unacceptable to us, as we felt sure it meant a great deal of opposition from the Indian public. We had reached a crisis. The Delegation decided that as now the crisis had been reached, I should myself discuss the matter with Dr. Malan, and tell him that as our draft is not acceptable to the Union Delegation, their suggestion of omitting Clauses 3 and 4 is not acceptable to us, unless they are prepared to omit Clause 5, and as this they do not accept, and they have suggested no alternative course, apparently the two Delegations have up till now failed to arrive at an agreement, and as our suggestions are exhausted we will be glad to have theirs if they have any to offer. We decided that we should impress upon them that an agreement which was not likely to have the public opinion behind it, or which threatened to have the Indian public against it, was bound to defeat the two objectives the Union Government had in view—investigation of a Colonisation Scheme, and investigation of Trade possibilities. Dr. Malan and I had one full hour's discussion; he said if an agreement is not reached it would be best to say so, and add that we remain friends. I told him that if he formulated the proposal I will gladly put it before my Delegation. Then the course of negotiations changed and he pressed on us their views—one year extension or an agreement containing Assisted Emigration proposal but not upliftment. We countered it by combining the two—agreement to stand, and only its modification to be embodied, and on it general agreement was secured. This was to be considered by our respective Delegations.

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3 February 1932, Wednesday.

Our Delegation agreed to the proposal. Dr. Malan's draft was a copy of our draft with one modification for which we were pressing in the beginning but to which we had reconciled ourselves under protest warning Dr. Malan that public opinion in India may be prejudiced thereby. He omitted that bit. The Agreement is not interim for one year; and is quite a satisfactory document. We omitted the Agent's mention from it and made other alterations. Dr. Malan has accepted them.

In the meantime, thinking there may be a breach, I wanted to have the Government of India's authority for possible breach—and sent intimation to them.

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4 February 1932, Thursday.

We had the final Conference Meeting and the Agreement was agreed to. In the meantime Lord Willingdon and the Government of India have got worried and sent me telegrams saying—please stay on for another fortnight, and don't break and agree even to one year's agreement, and anything is better than nothing. I am answering these and intimating to them the happy conclusion of our negotiations.

Went to Lord Clarendon's Garden Party—there was a very large gathering.

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5 February 1932, Friday.

Went to say good-bye to Lord Clarendon. He had asked Dr. Malan at the same time. We had a chat for three-quarters of an hour—it seems as if our perseverence and persistence had the day. The Colonisation investigation it is intended to undertake some time in or after May, while Farrier's Trade investigation will be probably next November.

Mr. Andrews is very pleased with what he believes is the Agreement arrived at, and the goodwill of the Cape people in particular the English is general.

I have decided to present presents to Lord Clarendon, Gen. Hertzog, Dr. Malan, and Mr. Howel Davies. I am giving his daughter a small present and another one to my nurse. Our Medical Bill is near £ 200; and that prevents indulging in buying presents.

6 February 1932, Saturday.

My Medical Bill comes to £ 180 which in rupees is nearly Rs. 3000/-; in pay I lose nearly Rs. 2750/-; on Nasim's fare, etc., Rs. 2500/-; other extra expenditure over and above £ 34, will be Rs. 1500/- or so—in all Rs. 10,000/- and Rs. 4000/- for Lahore expenses—while my pay for 2½ months is nearly 14000/-, so I just manage to meet it; and Rs. 1000 or so on presents out of pocket. However, it is a great thing to have been through it all.

I have sent my photo in a very nice silver frame to General Hertzog, and in simple silver frames to Lord Clarendon, Dr. Malan, and Mr. Howel Davies, S.D.O. I gave a lady's bag to Miss Howel Davies; and there have been exchanges of small presents. The Hotel Bill for washing and other expenses amounts to £ 60. I brought Rs. 500 with me from India, and I don't think I will not get it, after paying Rs. 4000/- for Lahore expenses.

7 February 1932, Sunday.

A very busy day. Bajpai and I paid a farewell visit to Dr. Malan, and then the whole Delegation paid a visit to General Hertzog. In the afternoon attended the Farewell Public Meeting of South African Indians held under the auspices of the Cape Colony Congress. A man called Mr. Pundit alias Aslam had approached me for a Muslim Mass Meeting, and was told that the best thing to do was to have our meeting jointly with the Congress as the Congress consisted mostly of Muslims. This man was mostly to blame, and Congress and our office partly to blame for two meetings being arranged for. He had put into his advertisement an educational scheme and as the condition precedent of my attending a meeting was that it should have nothing to do with it, I refused to attend it.

He thought Andrews had done it, and was wild with him. The Congress meeting was a successful one.

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8 February 1932, Monday.

Went at 4-45 a.m. in my shalwar, achkan and Turkish cap to a mosque to offer my Eid prayers. It was a Shafai mosque I believe, and reached Railway Station at 8-50 a.m., in time to say good-bye to Dr. Malan and others who had come to the Railway Station. They were surprised to see me in this dress, but it was as well for them and others to know that religious observances are not to be neglected.

The Special which is taking us to our Boat left at 9 a.m. and is timed to reach Laurenzo Marques on the 10th at 8 a.m. It was understood that the railway journey will be hot and unpleasant, as it was quite warm in Cape Town, but as a matter of fact, it was not really hot, and mostly was fairly cool, while at night it was quite cool. This was due to clouds and a shower of rain. The country through which we passed was quite interesting.

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9 February 1932, Tuesday.

We had a reception at Clarkstown. I joined the meeting a bit late, as I had not had my bath and was not dressed. At railway station we had crowds of people present to see us and bid farewell. We reached Johannesburg at 3-23 p.m. I conducted the proceedings —good wishes, addresses and speeches, and then most of us went out for a drive. Muslims also had their say and I thanked them for their sympathy and good wishes and appreciation.

At 9 p.m. we held a, so to speak, Investiture ceremony—on behalf of the Delegation, I presented a large solid silver cup to Mr. Howel Davies, with our signatures inscribed on it. It made a good show, and a cigarette case to Mr. Deen who was in charge of catering on our trains to and from Cape Town. It was quite a pleasant and interesting ceremony. The day was cool and so was the night.

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10 February 1932, Wednesday.

Reached Laurenzo Marques in time and in the harbour, a few paces from the S.S. *Karagola*. The Captain had his instructions and gave us the choice of the best seats available. I preferred to be in a single berth cabin on the main deck, top, rather in a commodious two berth cabin below. I understand a two berth cabin on the top deck will be available on the 15th. The day was a cool one, but there was a strong head wind, and the sea was by no means smooth; so many were sick, and others too seedy to enjoy it. I was not sea-sick, but was next door to it. I have laid out a regime for my boat life, and arranged for diet etc., and from tomorrow it will be strictly adhered to. I have no temperature—in fact it is subnormal, but I do not seem to possess any vitality, though my food is good and nourishing.

Had telegrams from General Hertzog, Dr. Malan and Lord Clarendon and numerous others.

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11 February 1932, Thursday.

Another very cool day—if not actually cold—strong head wind, the boat indulged in some rolling, many victims of sea sickness. Mrs. Naidu has not been very well on account of sea sickness.

I am sending a cable to Lord Willingdon suggesting that it is desirable to get in non-official delegates to New Delhi, and in that case, I better stay in Delhi for a few days and then go to Lahore for Saturday and Sunday. This means some coming to Delhi and then going to Lahore, and other members of the family to meet me in Lahore.

We will soon be touching ports—Mozambique, Dar-es-Salam, Zanzibar and Mombasa, and that will leave nine days' journey only.

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12 February 1932, Friday.

There was a sudden change in the weather—it became warm, and the head wind dropped, and the day became hot, and in the afternoon it was very hot, and in the evening intolerable. I had but little appetite and was very thirsty. I had Peptone twice and that appears to have made me feel the heat more, and also made me nervy. The whole effect was of depressing nature. At night I felt unable to

sleep, though I had my mattress out on the deck. I thought I had temperature, but when I used my thermometer, it was only 98.2. I think the trouble is due to absence of expectoration, due to heat, lack of facility for lying down and resting, from time to time, and my not having taken expectorant mixture. I must make this good. As to weather, it may slightly improve tomorrow, but I will not land at Mozambique, and 14th is not a stop day, but 15th will be a double stop—Dar-es-Salam and Zanzibar.

———

13 February 1932, Saturday.

A very nice cool day. I did not go ashore at Mozambique, but at 10 received the Mozambique people on board. I am glad I did not go, as those who went complained of great heat there. I was feeling very limp after yesterday's heat, and the sleepless night that followed, and so decided upon carrying out Doctor's advice regarding Brandy rubbing of body. It appears to have done good.

From Mozambique we got some issues of *Free Press* and daily newspapers of Bombay. I glanced through the issues of 21, 22, 23, 24 and 26 January. Things are not quite satisfactory. Indian Chambers of Commerce are hostile to Government and Purshotamdas Thakurdas has actually withdrawn his name from the Round Table Conference Committee, and the Chamber has repeated its adherence to Gandhi. Retail dealers in goods are wavering and inclining to pursue their calling. Muslims are not in it, but on account of the Frontier Province and that their right to majorities in Punjab and Bengal has not been recognised are in a sullen mood; and are inclined to pursue different policies. They should be united, and their grievances put right.

Today was Mrs. Naidu's birthday, so we had a dinner in honour of it.

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14 February 1932, Sunday.

Strong head wind again, and boat also shaking—pitching, but the head wind made cabin bearable, and I did not get ready till 9 a.m.

and so there was time for expectoration; and I again rested from 12 to 1, and had brandy rubbed, and there was more expectoration. I was a bit thirsty, and slight pain in the calves; but no temperature. A general feeling of not well-being. This must be nerves and not much appetite. However, I am taking Sanatogen and three glasses of sherry, and egg flip of two eggs and a quantity of fruit juice and no exercise. So this should be enough to keep me going. At night I had twenty drops of the sleeping medicine and had six hours sound sleep though the ship's movements were none too good.

I have not yet settled about the non-official section of the Delegation going to New Delhi—my P. & P. to H.E. has not yet been sent. Again, I have not yet sent my cable to Governor Bombay for the same reason. The reason is this—if Mrs. Naidu does not go with us, that will afford occasion for comment which I should like to avoid. She has been very good and I have liked her since I have known her—She is a loyal friend, and will not do anything unworthy, but she is committed too much to the Congress and when the Congress is in trouble, she would not like to drop out of it. So my task is pretty difficult—how to get her out temporarily without her feeling that she is getting out. I should like to do this tomorrow.

Well we have been full one week on our return journey and two more remain!

———

15 February 1932, Monday.

Reached Dar-es-Salam about 7 a.m. and the Delegation went ashore about 8 a.m. I did not go till 9-45 and returned about 10-45, just having had a motor drive. Later had rest, luncheon and a little rest again. In the afternoon at 3 p.m., we reached Zanzibar. We went ashore about 4-30, had tea with the President, then had a drive, and later had dinner with Tyabji and returned 9-30 p.m., but did not retire till 11 p.m. as the boat did not start till then. It was nice and cool. I am glad I did not tire myself.

Mrs. Naidu agreed that there should be no speeches, but as Sir Darcey Lindsay spoke, she had to speak, but it was an entirely non-

political speech. Had a talk with her. She is prepared to go to Delhi, but not to Bombay Governor's lunch in case he invites the whole delegation. I think I will go and call on him myself. This will be enough.

———

16 February 1932, Tuesday.

Reached Mombasa at 9 a.m. Jiwanji had fallen ill, and Sir Ali invited the Delegation to lunch. It was a very pleasant function. Then I went to Rajbali's house by the creek of the sea, and had a little rest and then attended Mr. Pandya's garden party. He has built himself a new house at a cost of £. 10,000—a very large one and up to date. There was a large attendance, and the function was a great success. I returned to my temporary residence with Mr. Bajpai and we settled the reply to the Department regarding giving assistance to the Kenya Indians regarding enquiry into taxation, etc. There was a dinner given by the Sports Club to the Delegation but I excused myself from it, and from 7-30 p.m. to 9 a.m. next morning had a peaceful time, and very good night's rest. They gave me an Indian dinner—Indian chicken curry, mutton and potato curry and I enjoyed them immensely.

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17 February 1932, Wednesday.

We went at 10 a.m. to Sir Ali's residence and were there for an hour and a quarter. It is a beautiful site, and the residence is planned or laid out in an original style. There is reception block, a dinner block, bed room block, office block and so on, and public blocks are whitewashed, while private blocks are coloured. The breeze was excellent and the place was most restful. A large gathering awaited us on the boat and having said farewell to our friends, we raised anchor at 12. The sea has been a bit rough, but the weather has been pleasant and cool; and now that I am in a three berth cabin, there is room enough to take rest in the cabin. Our next halt is Por Bunder on the 26th—such a long journey that one would like to get out at Por

Bunder in case the boat stops there for a few hours, and probably it will, as a large number of deck passengers are likely to get out there.

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18 February 1932, Thursday.

We have done half the journey from Cape Town to Delhi, and now there remains Por Bunder on 26th, Bombay 27th and Delhi 28th. My health during the last ten days has not deteriorated, as I was very much afraid, it might easily do, from lack of facilities for suitable diet, comfortable accomodation and cold climate. The weather on the whole has been cool, and so staying in cabin and expectorating were possible. Diet has also been provided for, and I am not worse but may be a little better than I was when I left Cape Town. May be that by the time I reach Bombay, I will be feeling a little better than I am. I need a little strength to enable me to get through March which is bound to be a busy month—a) South African Conference work; b) Assembly Select Committee and legislation; c) Round Table Conference Committees and the political situation; d) Frontier Province; e) Muslim policies and organisation; and many other affairs.

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19 February 1932, Friday.

The sea was rough, the boat pitched and rolled, but the weather was cool, and so the day though not exactly pleasant was not too bad. Had a talk with Mrs. Naidu about the political situation in India. She has no proposal or suggestion to make. She is very much disappointed in the Round Table Conference she attended and thinks all sides are to blame for it, including Gandhi. She agrees with me in thinking that he tried to do too much, on his own, and dabbled in matters with which he was not familiar. He also made opponents all round. So he lost in prestige and influence and got the Congress isolated and shorn of general vague goodwill and support which other political parties in India gave it as long as he was fighting British Government and dealing in generalities. What is to be done now? We

who have been away for more than two months cannot say and it is doubtful whether those who are in India can suggest a solution. The policy in action is frankly one of repression for which there was and probably is sufficient justification. Has that policy succeeded or has it failed, or has it not been in force sufficiently long to determine whether it has succeeded or failed. It cannot be denied that the policy generates hatred, both on racial and communal lines. What does the success of the policy mean? Congress School of thought cannot disappear—its direct action, *i.e.*, civil disobedience, picketing, should cease. No Liberal party exists, and Congress is in the field; and the only way to humbling the Congress is to have a strong, vocal, efficient political body in the field, which will have large support, and then Congress will lose its prominence and importance. Such an organisation does not exist and cannot exist unless communal differences are composed. The alternative is for communal organisations to agree upon fighting the Congress and expressly repudiating the objectionable features of the Congress people in direct action.

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20 February 1932, Saturday.

It was nice and cool, and the sea was less disturbed than yesterday and the head wind had died down considerably. We are all getting tired of the long journey, but all things come to an end, and we should not be impatient.

Had two cables—one from H.E. saying he will be very pleased to receive the delegation. I have answered it by saying—Will Monday 12 suit H.E. Another from K.B. Syed Maratab Ali inviting me and my delegation to luncheon party at Taj Mahal Hotel, and in view of my refusal of Fazil I. Rahimtoolah's invitation and not informing the Governor of Bombay, I had to refuse this as well.

Have arranged a programme for Bombay, and have decided to stay with Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah if he will have me.

As to Delhi, Mrs. Naidu will stay with me, Shastri with Bajpai, and Sir Darcey Lindsay on his own, and we have to arrange for Sir Kurma Reddi.

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21 February 1932, Sunday.

Sent a cable to my wife asking her to bring Asghari, Asif and silver and cutlery trunk to Delhi, for I will have to be in Delhi for five days and a large number of people will be coming to see me. It will have to be At Homes, if Assembly meetings permit.

On the whole a good day—cool and sea not too bad. In the evening it was quite cold.

Have been discussing about Brazil Enquiry Committee—thought of Chopra. Must consult Montmorency and Hailey. As to its composition, I incline to 3—two officials and one non-official, preferably a European, one Hindu, one Muslim. This will mean out of six, there will be three Indians and three Europeans. If I have all three Indians, contact between Indians and South African Europeans may not be established.

I have begun to work to a programme I have made for 21st to 24th, and then kept 25th for winding up, and 26th free.

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22 February 1932, Monday.

Had a long talk with Mrs. Naidu. Pointed out to her the big mistakes made by Gandhi, mistakes of a nature which are associated with shady politics, and certainly not of a nature which could be described as raising the standard of political life. We agreed that—
1. Gandhi is not a good judge of individuals—cf. Shaukat Ali; 2. He does not see ahead, but is opportunist cf. Khilafat and strict nationalism, bringing ulema into politics, just to rope Muslims into the Congress fold; 3. Is altogether unreliable, and anything but frank, cf. solution of the Punjab—any settlement arrived at by Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs is acceptable to him! How could he refuse to accept it. 4. He is fond of quibbling, too many reservations. These are a part and parcel of politics, but he professes to elevate politics; 5. He is not well informed as to the views and sentiments of various sections of the people, and readily lends his ear to those round about him; and believes things which if critically examined bear evidence of inherent improbability. 6. He shirks

the responsibility of coming to independent decisions, lest thereby he offends some of his supporters, cf. his being sole representative of the Congress at the Round Table Conference. This was due to his inability to select a delegation from the Congress without risking disruption—an act of a third rate leader or one who prefers to be a dictator. 7. He is no longer able to lead, but only to follow. The position is beyond his control, cf. Bhagat Singh—his intercession with Irwin for reprieve; the Karachi resolution.

As a result of all these today he stands lower in public estimation than he ever did before—at war with all minorities, and in his cabinet a strong body of Hindu Mahasabha, and strong body of extremists, the former supporting the latter, and the latter supporting the former in their anti-Muslim policy. The whole thing has arrived at a stage that a break up is not improbable.

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23 February 1932, Tuesday.

It was a cold day—wintry, and the sea was calm; and I was able to have a walk—quite pleasant. Bajpai prepared his report, members went through it, and then we considered it in a meeting, and passed it with minor alterations. Now the final stuff will be typed and then the Report will be signed tomorrow. Had a cable from P.S.V. [Private Secretary to Viceroy] saying that H.E. will receive delegation at 12 on the 29th; and the delegates want to return to their homes early, on the 1st or the 2nd, this will not interfere with my visit to Lahore.

From bits of Indian news it appears that the Round Table Conference Committees are functioning—Franchise Committee is in Bengal and State Committee (Financial Relations) is in Por Bunder. The latter has probably no Indian on it, while the former has, and we want to know who have resigned and who are actually serving on it, and we do not know what exactly they are doing.

Received an invitation from Mr. Natrajan conveying invitation to lunch from Sir Purshotamdas and request to meet Council of the Indian Citizenship Association. This is a bit awkward, as invita-

tion to lunch from Fazil Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, K.B. Syed Maratab Ali, were actually refused, and I am not informing the Governor of our arrival lest he invites the delegation, and one of us would rather not go, as the function will have no connection with the work of the delegation. Under the circumstances, it is best to thank for the offer, say some of us already engaged for lunch, and we will be very glad to meet Sir Purshotamdas and Mr. Natrajan and a few more at 5 p.m. if it will suit them, otherwise at 3 p.m.

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24 February 1932, Wednesday.

Finished glancing through the proceedings of the Indian Reforms debate in the House of Lords on 8th, 9th and 10th December 1931. It seems to me that so far as Provinces go, Simon recommendations are vindicated, and so far as the Centre is concerned, Federation with Army, Foreign Relations, Finance, Minorities and Services, as reserved subjects, and others as transferred. There is bound to be trouble about Provincial autonomy too. Is it to be introduced in the Punjab or not? and what is to be the composition of the Legislature?

Report of the Conference Delegation is ready, and confidential report about other matters is also ready. We are now waiting for Dr. Malan's message, and then the Delegation report can be completed, and statement to the Assembly prepared, and dates for simultaneous publication fixed.

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25 February 1932, Thursday.

Last night there was dinner party, and I had to join it and after dinner, charades went on for a long time. When I returned about 11 p.m., and went to bed, I had not a good night's rest—woke up at 4 a.m. and had no sleep since then. Had not a very good day—less appetite and more depression. Was thinking of retiring early, but at 10 p.m., they got the gramophone going, and some desultory dancing. It went on till 11 p.m., and but for Mrs. Naidu getting

it stopped at 11 p.m., it may have gone on easily till midnight. Mrs. Naidu has been most thoughtful in getting me such reliefs.

We signed our report at 9 p.m. today, so this is over, and the Transvaal Bill affair alone is left. Hope we will get Dr. Malan's intimation and settle this as well tomorrow.

Union Government had given fruit for the delegates—for the journey as well as for India. It appears that all intended for the journey was finished within a few days, and but little is left of that intended for India. I am afraid, the matter was left to the ship people, and no supervision was exercised. This is a pity; I did not buy fruit to bring home because I was assured that plenty of it is being sent with me.

Wonder whether my wife will come to Delhi. I may know this when we reach Bombay.

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26 February 1932, Friday.

We landed at Por Bunder—there was difficulty as the launch was heavy and the tide was not up. However, we did land though it took us a long time to do so. It was so late we had to go direct to H.H. the Maharaja Rana's Palace and not have a drive through the town. There was one thing of very great interest—the whole town turned up to see us. They wanted Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to have a public meeting, and to have the national flag salutation done. She put them off, and told me all this. The Congress people, however, were not to be turned off their purpose, and had a small boat to themselves on which they had the Congress flag and uttered the following slogans—*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* ; *Sarojini Naidu ki jai* ; *Inqilab zindabad* ; *British goods be picketed* ; *British Government murdabad.* When we landed there was a very great crowd, and they repeated the same slogans. On enquiry it was found that this is the birth place of Mr. Gandhi, and that the town is practically a Hindu town. What struck me as peculiar was that in an Indian State which are believed to be so non-political, there should be so much political agitation of such an anti-British character. It appears that wherever

a town is practically Hindu, anti-British agitation is very strong, and the fact that it is in an Indian State makes no difference. The longer federation is put off the better for the country as a whole. On the other hand where a town or an area is preponderating[ly] Muslim, anti-British feeling practically does not exist. The only exception is the North-West Frontier Province, and that is due to the Congress intrigues. If Por Bunder is a sample of India today, it appears that the Ordinances have not yet succeeded in checking the anti-British movement.

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27 February 1932, Saturday.

Though we sighted Bombay early, we did not get by the harbour landing till after 9 a.m. There was a large gathering of friends and others to receive us, and press reporters were encircling us, and I was loaded with garlands, and several snapshots were taken. Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Sir Rafiuddin Ahmad came to receive me, while Fazil son of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah wanted me to go to his house. I went to Sir Ghulam Husain as I had sent him a cable. I rested for a couple of hours and then went to Governor Bombay to lunch with him. Had a general talk with him, and returned at 3 p.m. and had a talk with Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Sir Rafiuddin Ahmad. Then several visitors came in who occupied me till 5 p.m. when I went to the Imperial Citizenship Council meeting where I was till 6-50 p.m., and went straight to the railway station. Mrs. Naidu and Nasim were travelling with me in the saloon and Syed Maratab Ali had given us very nice dinner, and other requisites for breakfast and lunch tomorrow. He always is very hospitable.

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28 February 1932, Sunday.

Had a nice journey, except that after 12, it became very warm, and in the afternoon unbearably so—more than it had been in the whole journey, but after 7 p.m. it cooled down. We reached Delhi, Noyce and others were there, and Asghari and Asif had come, and

after the usual garlanding which was done by Muslim members of the central legislatures, we proceeded home where my wife was waiting for us.

We dined late—9-30 p.m.—and it was quite late when we went to bed.

So after all, returned home safe—what an eventful ten or eleven weeks.

———

29 February 1932, Monday.

I had to attend the Council of State meeting whence I proceeded to Viceroy's House with my delegation. We met H.E. the Viceroy, and had a talk. H.E. had not informed himself as to the nature of the Agreement, legislation, etc., and in his talk with the delegates made some howlers which created a very bad impression on the delegates—Sir Darcey Lindsay, Mrs. Naidu, Sir Kurma Reddi and Shastri, while Bajpai and I felt much embarrassed, and it was a great relief when it was 1 p.m., for we then went to lunch. Lady Willingdon was her usual charming self, and helped me to make the delegates forget the talks during our one hour's interview.

There was a meeting of the Executive Council in the evening, and I met all my colleagues. During the discussion I had to differ from my colleagues and it appears that H.E. resented it, for he said—"This is the very first meeting after your return, and we can't agree."

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1 March 1932, Tuesday.

Mrs. Naidu left this evening for Hyderabad (Deccan) at 8-30 p.m. She is very nice and good-hearted friend and it was a pleasure to have her with us. She thoroughly enjoyed herself at yesterday's lunch, and I do hope, the Congress ruffians won't push her into going to jail. Yesterday morning Asaf Ali actually came to persuade her not to go with the delegation to Viceroy's House—what an impudence and she frankly told him that this was not her conception of her duty to the delegation on which she agreed to serve with

Gandhi's concurrence. She helped me very much at Cape Town, and then on our way back—She actually used to stop the English fellow passengers to stop their gramophones and dances at 11, as they interfere [-d] with my rest.

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2 March 1932, Wednesday.

During my absence Tafazzal Husain has been enjoying the possession of all the eleven squares of chak number 124. He told Mian Ali Ahmad Khan that the partition better wait till my return, and went to Amjad Husain saying that partition is accepted, and what does he want to take, and in fact has given him nothing. He is very much in debt and it was a great mistake on the part of Afzal Husain and Ali Ahmad Khan to let Tafazzal Husain take possession. I am afraid I will have to go to Jaranwala and get these things settled, and if possible in April. Mian Ali Ahmad Khan has not been active about it. It looks as if I will have to get restitution petition put in; and take a mortgage with possession of the shares of Tafazzal and Fazil in satisfaction thereof. Tafazzal seems to be altogether incorrigible, and Afzal hopeless.

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3 March 1932, Thursday.

Council of State sat yesterday and today, and there were Executive Conncil meetings on both evenings.

Have seen several people. The Secretary of State's speech regarding settlement of Muslim claims is disappointing. A strong wave of dissatisfaction is spreading all over the Muslim Punjab—over Cashmere, over reduction of Muslim claim from 56 to 51, over retrenchment, over recruitment and interpretation of minority communities rights and so on.

Saw Mirza Sahib of Qadian and had a talk with him. I had myself weighed—I am 11 stones 4 lbs. *i.e.* nearly 4½ lbs. more than I was a month ago at Cape Town. This is not at all bad, because the journey was not too good; and I am only 4 lbs. less than I was when

I left Delhi on the 11th of December, and during March I should have no difficulty in working up 4 lbs. and even more, and it would be very satisfactory if I reached my 12 stone before going to Simla.

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4 March 1932, Friday.

Spent the whole day in seeing visitors, from 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with a short break of 2 hours or so; and many visitors came for different objects and from different classes, and discussed different matters—personal, official, political.

My wife and Asif left for Lahore yesterday, as Asif has to go back to her school.

European Association is feeling nervous as to the Reforms, and are anxious to help.

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5 March 1932, Saturday.

Held the Indian Reserve Fund Association meeting—it was a strenuous task. I finished the work by 1-30 p.m., and so was able to rest in the afternoon, and receive visitors in the evening and then go out for a drive. It was a hot day; and in the afternoon had to change into a silk suit, and change back into warm things in the evening.

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6 March 1932, Sunday.

Received nearly 20 visitors—10 a.m. to 2 p.m., and then in the evening, and there are many who came without appointments and I had to apologise to them and take them back, promising to fix them up later. Went to Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah's tea party—the first in Delhi to which I have gone.

In the Frontier, they have fixed one crore subsidy—It is generous, but there is a highly paid staff which is not essential, and whether the province will be allowed to relieve itself of it, it is not likely to be allowed to do so. Reforms won't succeed unless the Minister and the Governor can show what can be done in this connection.

From visitors, it appears that Nawab Sahib of Chattari specialised in entertainment—legislators, Europeans, department staff,—and pliability. I am also told that the Hindus did strong propaganda in favour of Nawab Sahib's retention on the ground that everybody liked him, while as a matter of fact, the effort was based on the well understood principle that the incompetent Muslim should be preferred to a competent one and the less competent to the more competent.

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7 March 1932, Monday,

I have several difficult matters to settle.

I. Appointment of Secretary to succeed Sir Frank Noyce who succeeds Rainy as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

II. Appointment of Agent to Government of India in South Africa.

III. In (I) if Bajpai is appointed, then appoint 2 to my Secretariat one or two.

IV. Fill the post of E.C. on a lower scale. Of the four I should have at least two Muslims. As to III Hydari is leaving I.C.A.R. and will be made D.S. but this is not a new appointment. Under certain circumstances, Khurshid Mohd. might be appointed for 4 months. Out of II and IV, one must be a Muslim. I wish I could send a good non-official. Raza Ali, Shah Nawaz, Iqbal, Shafaat Ahmad, Diwan Abdul Hamid, but of these Shah Nawaz, Shafaat only have wives who can entertain, and others should go alone. Shafaat is better than Shah Nawaz, but Jahan Ara is probably more impressive than Shafaat's wife.

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8 March 1932, Tuesday.

Received many visitors. In the evening Shaukat Ali came. He is today much weaker than he was this time last year. Even his

friends he has estranged, and his greed is now a byword amongst the politically minded people. He is not going to the Lahore Conference to be held on the 21st and the 22nd of March, as he is afraid of being badly treated. The point at issue is what to do at the Conference in the matter of H.M.G. not deciding the matter of the method of [and?] amount of representation in the Provincial and Central legislatures. Muslims want it to be announced forthwith, and at all events before May, and may agree to wait for it, if a definite date is fixed provided it does not go beyond May.

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9 March 1932, Wednesday.

Saw Sir Mohd Iqbal and Mehr of *Inqilab*—they were keen on condemning the Round Table Conference, but after our talk I think they won't do that. My plan is probably the best. Round Table Conference men—in particular Shafaat Ahmad, Zafrulla Khan, Ghaznavi, Sher Mohd. will say that the Minorities Pact was a very great sacrifice of the right of Punjab and Bengal Muslims, and as in the Minorities we were the largest minority, we sacrified them to have union amongst majorities, and if H.M.G. had adopted it, we would have begged you to honour it, but since H.M.G. did *not* adopt it, and the majority community has not shown any sympathy towards it we cannot ask you to adopt it, and you are free to adhere to your rightful claim and it is our duty to stand by you and your rightful claim. Then we should press for a decision by H.M.G., and say that if it is not made by the middle of May, the W.C. [Working Committee] be authorised to take up the question of deciding what course the community should adopt *e.g.*, holding public meetings to express our great sense of regret at the attitude of H.M.G.—

(a) Pressing us to settle this matter with Hindus which means with the Congress whom they have declared an unlawful body.

(b) Failing to settle it themselves.

(c) Postponing its settlement knowing full well that the constitution of legislature is the first in representative responsible government on which the whole constitution hinges.

Then proposals to become Neutral, to join the Congress, to conduct C.D.O. [Civil Disobedience] independently [of] Congress be taken up and referred to W.C. [Working Committee] for consideration in connection with the above Resolution. This ought to tide over the difficulty.

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10 March 1932, Thursday.

Met a deputation of the friends and told them some plain truths —Minorities can't sign their own death warrant, majorities not being in power will not be generous—for generosity is only deferred selfishness and as a foreign nation is in power, majority community *is* to lose if it gives way.

Had a conference with press representatives regarding Medical Council Bill. I feel hopeful as to the progress of the Bill.

In Executive Council had the Army for discussion—numbers. C.-in-C. said British troops cannot be reduced. I felt they must be reduced and are not needed to fight Afghanistan and the border people. Draft is to be prepared to incorporate different views.

It was very close and warm last night and I had a broken night. This looks bad for the next few weeks I am in Delhi.

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11 March 1932, Friday.

Had a long interview with H.E.—about Agent to South Africa Secretary in place of Noyce, C.D.O. movement and Muslims, Premier's announcement before the 20th of March on which the Conference meets, and Reforms. H.E. is anxious to help, but the Secretary of State appears to treat him lightly. Had a lot to attend to before leaving for Lahore; and was not able to accomplish it till the last moment.

I have not been able to attend to my social obligations. This is largely due to my not having good servants to make arrangements without taking up my time and placing further strain on my energy. I better do something.

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12 March 1932, Saturday.

The train was late by no less than half an hour. Sikander, Shahabuddin, Firoz, and lots of others were at the Railway Station. Drove home, and saw the children. Then went to Sikander and had talk with him and Shahabuddin who have been doing some propaganda about joint electorates—which is a pity for it is based on adult franchise or adult franchise reflected in voting strength in males. If it is adopted here, what happens to weightage? And if weightage is given to Sikhs, the problem remains unsettled, and adult franchise on account of women will go against the Muslims.

Then went to the Dentist who has given me a solution to treat gums with, and as to extraction has put off the decision till next month. One extraction a day and on alternate days will mean a week for three teeth.

Then I went to Col. Harper Nelson [Principal, King Edward Medical College, Lahore, retired 1935] who examined me and saw all the prescriptions and charts; and prescribed for me.

Then I went to Shahabuddin's and had further talk with him and Sikander regarding forthcoming Conference, etc. Lastly I attended the At Home given by Amjad Ali son of Syed Maratab Ali of Davis Road and met lots of people there.

———

13 March 1932, Sunday.

Prepared notes for the day. Saw very large number of people—M. Rahim Bakhsh, M.A., Firoz Din son of Huda, Amir Din, brother of Syed Habib, Abdul Aziz, President Municipal Committee, Lahore, Ganpat Rai, Iqbal and Mehr, Ghulam Mohiyuddin, Nawab Allah Bakhsh, Sirdar Bahadur Sirdar Singh, Malik Firozdin, Dr. Naqi, etc., etc., and settled many points and controversies.

Saw H.E. Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency and had a long talk with him for about an hour and a half covering a large field of topics.

The afternoon was devoted to the partition problem. Mohd Said and Ahmad Said had come and we had half an hour together. Then

tried to settle partition of ancestral property. Afzal, Amjad and Fazil were there, Tafazzal excused himself on the ground of ill health. We agreed on one list being taken by Afzal and others, the second one being left for me I was placed at a slight disadvantage as Mian Ali Ahmad Khan split up the lists under three separate heads and gave them the option of chosing not one list A or B, but A or B of each of three separate lists. However anything for settlement. I was engaged till the very last moment, and as my bearer is not a good one, had to attend to many things myself. My wife and Akhtari came with me.

———

14 March 1932, Monday.

Reached Delhi according to scheduled time, attended Council of State, interviewed people and Secretaries and arranged business, but had no time to write letters. It is nice and cool.

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15 March 1932, Tuesday.

The question of Premier's statement before the 20th, and decision of the Communal question came up. The Home Department and H.E. are anxious to help. Bhore was absent, Mitter silent, I quiescent, and Dunnett obstructionist, but he was silenced by others. Is he anti-Muslim?

Later H.E. took up Ottawa Conference with Rainy and me. Abdullah Haroon will represent Muslims, and another Muslim from Rampur will represent States. This is highly satisfactory.

———

16 March 1932, Wednesday.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah's At Home to meet their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon, in the premises of the Assembly chamber —a well attended function, but neither the material nor the service was really first class. I want to give an At Home, for a small one—60 or so—there is room—Hall, drawing room, verandah, and plenty of room to roam about, but there is not enough shade in the com-

pound for a proper Garden Party. I better begin to give these At Homes forthwith. What else can I give?

———

17 March 1932, Thursday.

Attended Members' Dinner—first on my return from South Africa—had a miscellaneous talk. New Delhi lit up is beautiful, but all lights are not a necessity. Even the C.-in-C. commented on it. My wife called in Dr. Houlton. She examined Akhtari, and said there was nothing wrong with her. She should keep herself occupied.

———

18 March 1932, Friday.

Saw a very large number of M.L.A.s [Member of Legislative Assembly] and Council of State people. The Lahore Conference is to consider the question of the boycott of Round Table Conference Committees. What is to be done? If the resolution is passed and nothing is done—it is awkward. If something is done, it is not likely to produce any result except creating talk and press excitement. If nothing is done, what hope of any decision, and the decision deferred is a decision less likely to be just to Mohammadans as the need to reconcile the Congress will make it expedient for Government to sacrifice Muslim interests. In the meantime H.M.G. show no inclination to decide the matter within the next few months, so far as one can see. On the other hand Sindh has receded into background, and all sorts of devices are being resorted to to delay decision. Under these bewildering circumstances not only is Government drifting, but compels others to drift as well.

———

19 March 1932, Saturday.

Attended the Convocation of the Delhi University as Pro-Chancellor. It was passed altogether peacefully. H.E. and some Europeans did not go because Convocations are utilised by terrorists for their attacks. Later went to a farewell Garden Party to Sir John

Thomspson, K.C.S.I. He thanked me for coming. In view of all the opposition he put up against me in 1917, 1918 and 1919, I felt this was a generous and forgiving gesture.

———

20 March 1932, Sunday.

Went to Agra. Taj is really beautiful, and Akbar's palaces in the fort, and subsequent additions of Shah Jahan are really very impressive. It is a distance of nearly 128 miles to Taj from New Delhi. We stayed in the Rest House—a nice old quiet peaceful place. Nawab Mohd Hayat Khan went with us.

———

21 March 1932, Monday.

We reached New Delhi at 11 a.m., and I was summoned by H.E. for 12—hurried to him. He talked about the Agent and the Secretary, and the Lahore Conference. In the afternoon I developed temperature which rose to 99.5, and was troublesome. Maj. Aspinel saw me.

———

22 March 1932, Tuesday.

South African Delegation meeting was held. When I went to it my temperature was 99. Today the temperature rose to 100.4. It was quite exhausting.

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23 March 1932, Wednesday.

Another meeting of the South African Delegation. The temperature was 100 when I went to the meeting. Had a bad day, temperature rising to 101, could eat nothing, had only fruit juice and milk.

———

24 March 1932, Thursday.

Started the day with high temperature 100, but it did not go higher, and in the afternoon dropped to 99, and at night to 98.4.

———

25 March 1932, Friday.

My ill health is a very serious handicap. It prevents my keeping in touch with my colleagues, the press, members of legislatures and others. It is a great pity. I should either recover health sufficiently to get rid of this handicap or resign. There is no alternative to it.

Ancient Monuments Preservation Select Committee—I had not had time or energy to talk to the two biased members, and so the meeting closed with endless discussion.

In the evening in Executive Council—Rainy had my Medical Bill put off—motion to refer it to Select Committee should be made. I must enquire into this—how it came about.

———

26 March 1932, Saturday.

Mrs. Naidu returned from Benares. She says Malaviya is coming, and the plan of action is—existing weightage to remain in minority provinces, Punjab and Bengal majorities;

Separate electorates with referendum after ten years; and no questions asked. She is asking the Nationalist Muslims to agree to this.

We will see what can be done.

Saw Lord Lothian. He is keen on provincial autonomy—genuine article including safeguards which he realises are mostly useless—economic aid, by way of credit, and peace and good order by way of army being two effective ones.

I told him that just now, all variations of constitutions were very much alike, and in the face of economic distress, Reforms could make but little progress.

———

27 March 1932, Monday.

Had a Select Committee meeting of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act—had to give the Hindu members a straight talk.

We have made fair progress, and may conclude the deliberations on Monday.

Had a large and confusing conglomeration of correspondence, and it took me the whole afternoon to get through it; and reduce the multifarious affairs to some sort of order.

April month programme is more or less settled. New Delhi 6th evening, then Lahore, Buchiana and Lahore till the 13th, and Choa from 14th to 22nd, four days in Lahore, and then Simla for at least five weeks.

———

28 March 1932, Monday.

Two sittings of the Ancient Monuments Select Committee—morning and afternoon, and the bill is passed, and the alterations made are of a minor description, and the suggestions made for rules relating to licenses and division of funds will be mentioned, and undertaking given that they will be incorporated in the rules. The anti-British feeling exhibited is intense—expulsion of the foreigner !

H.E. called me again this evening. He is very strongly against Bajpai. He does not want me now to take Latifi, and suggests taking an Englishman and suggested one Sloan. I reiterated my position—history of Bajpai's progress in the Secretariat and I see no justification for obstructing his progress. H.E. brought up the matter of Bajpai not paying his bills. I told him I knew it and had talked severely to Bajpai who promised it will not recur.

———

29 March 1932, Tuesday,

Members' Dinner to the departing colleagues—Rainy and Crerar. H,E. was present, and the dinner was held in Schuster's house, and was an exceptionally good one—in selection of dishes and in cooking. We had a pleasant time, and talk drifted in all directions. Consulted Bhore as to Bajpai. He holds the same view as I do.

In the afternoon had slight temperature—99, and had to go to the Delhi University to preside over its Court.

———

30 March 1932, Wednesday.

Members of Central Legislature had given a Garden Party to H.H. the Maharaja of Cashmere, and as some Hindus had joined the Garden Party given to the Nizam, so the Hindus demanded that some Muslims should join the Garden Party they were giving to Cashmere. Some Muslims joined, but on the day preceding the day of the Garden Party, news of the entry of Muslim refugees from Mirpur etc. into Jhelum reached and there was a great deal of excitement amongst Muslims. At 5.30 p.m., the time fixed for the function, there was a dust storm, and all the arrangements made were upset. However there were, in the Library, quite a lot of people, and the general confusion gave it an air of being well attended. Then rain came and the atmosphere is now quite cool. We all slept in our rooms and not in the verandah.

———

31 March 1932, Thursday.

Got through good many visitors, and straightened out work a good deal. Many knotty and difficult matters are pending, and arriving at decision is not easy. I am very much disturbed. Can't find a Muslim Agent.

Had a long talk with Zafrulla. Ziauddin came to press Latifi's claim for Secretaryship.

———

1 April 1932, Friday.

A miscellaneous sort of day. Things are getting arranged though not settled. Saw different people. Regarding Secretary, Bhore and Mitter are for Bajpai, and I understand Schuster is also favourable, so the possible active dissentients are limited to two or possibly three excluding the Viceroy. If there is acute dispute it may mean equally divided opinion—3 Indians and Schuster *versus* H.E., C-in-C., Rainy and Haig; but I doubt whether Haig will take such a decided attitude. As luck would have it, such matters as have been taken to Executive Council have been mine—indicating differences of opinion between H.E. and me.

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2 April 1932, Saturday.

Viceroy's reception at 5 p.m. for the Princes. I attended it, and while the guests were there fire [broke out] and blew in the tent, and the party dispersed.

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3 April 1932, Sunday.

Received visitors, and then met newspaper people and talked to them about South Africa and the Agreement and the Transvaal Bill. I believe the press reception will not be bad, though Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas is non-co-operating on the ground that we should have decided nothing till we had consulted their association. This is being done in view of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Government of India not being on good terms.

Yesterday I had met members of central legislature and explained to them all about Africa and our work. They were very nice about [it] and appreciative.

In the afternoon, went to Abdur Rahim's At Home—it was very nice and very well arranged. Then proceeded to Executive Council meeting at which bombing of villages of the borderland [came] under consideration, and I had to differ and insist upon recording my dissent.

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4 April 1932, Monday.

Was to be present at the Council of State for division, so could not go to see H.E. who had asked me for 12.30. On return found a letter from him putting off the decision regarding Secretaryship till after Bajpai's return, and hoping that in the meantime I would appoint Reid and asking for a reply in writing today. This was really awkward; and I sent a letter saying—I recommend that Bajpai be appointed now temporarily, that he go on leave, and during leave Ramchandra to officiate and on return of [*sic.*] leave Bajpai be confirmed unless medically unfit. I am afraid H.E. will not think well

of me for opposing his wishes, but what can I do? I have added that Muslims want a Muslim, and I am prepared to have a Muslim for the short officiating vacancy if H.E. will give me one.

Had a busy day.

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5 April 1932, Tuesday.

The matter of my Sectt. appointment is still unsettled. H.E. wants Reid to officiate as Secretary during Bajpai's leave while I think Ramchandra is a better man. H.E. relies upon seniority, and I on merit. The question has its racial aspect. I don't think Reid has sufficient guts to control the Department.

Had a largely attended Garden Party to meet Sir Frank and Lady Noyce—it was a success—catering and other arrangements were good, and friends looked after the guests well.

A protracted meeting of the Executive Council. Consultative Committee will not meet till the 23rd of May. In the meantime, Lothian report will be out, and Governors will have stated their views on the Secretary of State's letter, and Government of India will also have expressed its views, and if the members can work up a postponement of the meeting for three weeks more, H.M.G. will have announced their decision.

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6 April 1932, Wednesday.

An extremely busy and tiring day—visitors, friends, acquaintances, work, files, correspondence.

Secretariat—Bajpai proceeds on leave on the 8th. In Secretary's post H.E. having refused to agree to appoint Ramchandra as it involved supercession of Reid, I have offered to appoint Latifi. If H.E. agrees, I will have met the Muslim demand. If H.E. disagrees, then the responsibility will be his. If H.E. appoints Reid against my agreement, he will have put himself in the wrong and then I will take Khurshid Mohd and there will be two Muslim Deputy Secretaries in the Department.

Rainy came to say good-bye, had a talk with Schuster. Had a talk with Birla and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah regarding settlement between the communities.

Left by the night train, was so tired and weary that I had no appetite for dinner and had to take leave to have some sleep. On the whole the night was too bad.

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7 April 1932, Thursday.

Reached in time, and put right all the papers needed for the partition, chak 124, chak 103, and other matters. Then had a talk with Firoz, and later with Sikander, and Shahabuddin. Squabbles of Muslims *inter se* are a disgrace, but the position regarding Reforms is not too bad. There is a fair chance of our getting what we want.

My wife is dead set on building a house, so she wants a site of not less than 16 kanals. I think I better have 20 kanals, and build the house on one site, so there may be 6 kanals left for a cottage in one corner. I have seen an agricultural land which is close to the site available near Habibullah's house.

I am not having any temperature, but am feeling rather weak. I have not yet weighed myself but will do so before very long.

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8 April 1932, Friday.

Went to the Dentist. Now he says only one tooth need be extracted—last upper left which is a molar. It seems to me a harmless one, but the Dentist says it is a dead one, and it may breed germs. This better be done on the 12th.

Weighed myself in; still I am 11 stones 6 lbs.—this is practically what I weighed on 14 December 31, before leaving for South Africa; and half a stone less than I ought to be. Not so bad after all. I am afraid I am having slight temperature midday—goes up to 99. It is something like this:

98———99———98.
morning midday night

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9 April 1932, Saturday.

Reached Buchiana at 10 a.m., 2½ hours drive from Lahore, nearly 64 miles via Sheikhupura and Chuharkana. The place was quite comfortable. Tafazzal, Maulvi Abdul Bari and others came, and the matters connected with chak 124 were gone into.

It is not too hot—only from 11 to 5 it is warm, and hot in the sun.

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10 April 1932, Sunday.

Chak 124—Its affairs are in a bad way since the fall in prices. Last lease to Raja's was for Kharif 28 and Rabi 29, and was for nearly 1100 per square and fell short by 2187, and after making certain deduction by Rs. 2000/- we will probably be able to recover Rs. 1000 out of it. This is not at all bad, as it will mean Rs. 1000 per square. Next lease was for Kharif 29, Rabi 30, and was for Rs 1000 per square per annum and Rs. 3000 is due on it. Making an allowance of Rs. 2000 on it, Rs. 1000 are due. Then we came to Kharif 30 for which nothing is received, and Rabi 31 for which no credit or gain; and lastly Kharif 31 for which all the income has been appropriated by Tafazzal. Tafazzal has had most of the last, and Fazal some, and Amjad has had none of it.

Now that partition has taken place, things should improve but even so, unless there is a good man there as Mukhtar, things are bound to drift.

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11 April 1932, Monday.

Chak 103 is not so bad. There are very heavy arrears—Rs. 19000 or so, and after making deductions due to fall of prices, arrears amount to Rs. 10,000, and of these at least 6000 are bad debts, and of the remaining 4000, I wonder if more than Rs. 3000 will ever be realised. M. Abdul Majid is a hard working man, but liable to go wrong if not supervised. The second man there seems to me to be unsuitable. He remains busy in conspiring against Abdul

Majid and seems to know very little about his work. It produces nearly 400 per square—an increase of 7 to 8000 a year on an investment of 2½ lakhs which give 3½ %.

Afzal lost his youngest girl—he has one son and four daughters now. My wife, Asghari, Akhtari, Nasim and Mian A.A. Khan went for condolences.

We have had a nice time here, and the change from Lahore was undoubtedly a pleasant one.

———

12 April 1932, Tuesday.

Returned from Buchiana. I want a good Mukhtar at chak 124 who could also be my Secretary. This is the most pressing need. As some mutation proceedings are completed, I must proceed to recover the money due which is—26000+6000+5000, in all 37,000, besides interest on 26000 which at 9% p.a. will amount to nearly 13,000 and raise the due to 50,000/- which is Rs. 10,000 in excess of the property which has fallen to the shares of Tafazzal and Fazal.

Andrews came. Maharaj Singh is ready to go, but Lord Willingdon has tried to put me in the wrong by saying, he would like a Muslim to be appointed, and expressing his approval of Shafaat Ahmad's selection in case I wish to do so. I have told him how the matter stands. I believe, I have done the right thing.

———

13 April 1932, Wednesday.

The Dentist has decided not to extract any teeth now. In October last he had condemned right upper molar and passed left upper molar. In March last he passed right upper molar and condemned left upper molar. This was pointed out to him. He said both teeth were weak. Right upper molar was slightly better now than it was last October and certainly deterioration had proceeded no further, and so now he did not wish to extract it. He admitted that the left upper molar was just the same now as last October and better stay in till it gives trouble. He is going to complete the upper set.

Saw Firoz and Sikander and Nawab Sahib. Abdul Qadir wants me to try for £. 500 House allowance, and that he will go in case he gets it. I am sending a telegram to H.E. to that effect. My temperature still rises to 99 midday—12 to 8 I think.

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14 April 1932, Thursday.

Had a temperature from as early as 9 a.m. and it persisted down to evening. I had to see visitors in the morning, six of them, with temperature on. I have consulted Bokhari. Azim should either go in for Engineering or for I.C.S., Finance and Police. He, may be, can try both after he is qualified as an Engineer. What he needs now is —English, Urdu, and entry into Roorkee.

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15 April 1932, Friday.

I saw the Khewra mines. My wife made a fuss about Purda. It is an interesting place. My temperature went up to 99. Kripalani had made good arrangements for us; and Sher Mohd was in attendance. I told them both not to stay, and they went back to their houses. I must settle down to get well, and if the place suits me stay here till the 28th.

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16 April 1932, Saturday.

Not a bad day. The temperature did not go beyond 98.4 in the afternoon, and in the morning it was but normal. So far it is satisfactory, but I do feel very weak and depressed. I am really tired out, body, mind and even soul; and need complete rest, so leave for four months is inevitable. At times I feel whether six or seven weeks in Simla will be manageable. However these must be managed unless I want to spend September and October in Simla. On the whole, I think, I better take leave from 15th June 32.

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17 April 1932, Sunday.

Today was Id-i-Qurban—We passed it here, such are the claims of failing health. Where to spend four months leave? 1. Europe —a) South of France—one of the watering places where they set you up again; b) Somewhere in Germany; c) Somewhere in England or Wales; d) Switzerland.

Various valleys: 2. Cashmere—Kukarnag, Munda
3. Bangalore;
4. Kasauli;
5. Abbottabad.

I have ruled out Europe and Bangalore, and am *limiting my* choice to Cashmere, Kasauli and Abbottabad. Kasauli is *easily* accessible, but too near and like Simla to afford a real change. Since I have been here, I have spent the whole of nights, most of the mornings, spent part of afternoons in the open, and only a few hours indoors. This is a great point in favour of Abbottabad, and I believe its elevation is about 4000.

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18 April 1932, Monday.

Had a slight rise of the temperature again, but did not feel it very much. However, I notice that at times my respiration is fast and noisy, and this must be due to some effect on the lungs. Paid a visit to Kailas in a motor lorry.

H.E. has pressed me again to have Reid as Secretary. I think he is making a mistake, and putting himself in the wrong—there is no precedent for it, but let him go on like this. He has put himself in the wrong already more than once.

1. When he lost his temper in Council and then apologized—the matter was personal and I did not think it in good taste to force him to apologize in Council.
2. He nominated Mehr Shah to Round Table Conference without consulting me—he did not consult any Member of his Council, or the Governor—it was a scandal.

3. Public Service Commission—did not accept my advice, but his excuse was that it was Crerar's case, and he did not accept Crerar's advice either.
4. Then his quarrel over Bajpai—a) Permanent appointment; b) Temporary appointment for a week or so. He gave in regarding (a) and I gave in regarding (b).

   For officiating appointment, I asked for Latifi, and he has now to release him, and insists upon Reid filling the post.
5. He is wobbling over the Agent in South Africa. He is doing this, probably because I do not give in to him where a question of principle is involved, and I insist upon recording my dissent.

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19 April 1932, Tuesday.

A nice day after a cool, even cold, night. There was no mosquito nuisance. I was free of temperature and had good appetite. I like the place; I feel that if I could have spent a fortnight here it could have done me good.

We have decided to go to Abbottabad to see if that place will do for the whole or part of the leave. Lord Lothian is leaving Simla on the 30th of April or the 1st of May so I better be there by the 24th to have a good talk with him before Lord Willingdon's arrival on the 29th.

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20 April 1932, Wednesday.

Another cool night followed by a pleasant day. Another free from fever day. Our stay here has been quite satisfactory. I believe I have gained—at all events regained—all I lost during the first week in the Punjab: 7th to 14th. This is satisfactory. I am afraid of the next two or three days—4 p.m. of the 21st to 11 a.m. of the 24th—3 nights in the saloon, one day in Abbottabad and one day in Lahore. This is a bad introduction to Simla, but I will have complete rest on the 24th and that may help me to start well on the 25th.

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21 April 1932, Thursday.

Mr. Kripalani drove us to Khewra and did it so nicely that my wife was very pleased with it. We had tea in the saloon, and found the saloon unbearably warm.

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22 April 1932, Friday.

We were received at Havelian by Riaz Ahmad and two or three other gentlemen. Abbottabad is only eleven miles. We saw the Circuit House, K.B. Saadullah Khan's house, some houses in Cantt, and some houses in the new extension area.

We stayed with Riaz Ahmad who has a European wife. They have a nice little daughter. Riaz Ahmad was a year or so older than Saleem. He is Shah Nawaz's son from his first wife, and is now in I.F.S. He is a nice boy. We had lunch and tea with them and left at about 6.30 p.m. My wife is enamoured of Abbottabad.

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23 April 1932, Saturday.

This night was not so bad, because Havelian is not as hot as Khewra, and by the time we reached Havelian at 10.30 p.m., heat had disappeared. Sikander Hayat and others received us at the Railway station. Saw H.E. and was with him nearly an hour and a half. Asghari and Nawaz with baby and nurse, Shamim with Baby and nurse, Akhtari and Ayah are accompanying me to Simla. I have Asif in Lahore because of her education. She is doing very well and I should not like to take her away from her work.

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24 April 1932, Sunday.

Reached Kalka very early, and as the luggage with us was considerable, took a long time getting ready. Reached Simla by 12, and the journey on the whole was not very tiring. Got settled down without any very great inconvenience.

Saw Ramchandra about South Africa regarding Agent's emoluments.

Had a bad night.

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25 April 1932, Monday.

Went to office.

We all have settled down. Shamim in the room next to me, Asghari in the large room opposite mine and Akhtari in the room between the two, and Nawaz in the down storey room.

Mr. Ramchandra had taken great pains to get the house ready and the girls have put up pictures.

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26 April 1932, Tuesday.

Had an Executive Council meeting regarding the communal question. I think it is best to have a decision announced about Muslims only and regarding Provincial legislatures and no more. As to Central legislature we do not know what weightage is going to be given to the States. We discussed Birla's letter to the Secretary of State. It was quite a long meeting.

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27 April 1932, Wednesday.

Lord Lothian met Executive Council and had a talk about—Time of announcement of communal settlement. We wanted it to be about the middle of June, and he of July, *i.e.* a month later. If the date of announcement is given in June, there is no harm in it.

Obstacles in the way of a decision—Special Constituencies and Depressed Classes. Some members were overjoyed at this, *e.g.* Bhore who appeared to be jubilant. His views are strongly anti-Muslim. I don't think this will eventually thwart Muslims in their achieving their objective for in the Punjab Depressed Classes do not exist and in Bengal they are intended to take the place of Sikhs, but as no weightage is claimed for them, and they will be satisfied with something less than population basis, Europeans might get 2 or 3% out of them.

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28 April 1932, Thursday.

Lord Lothian had another talk with us—a) Programme of Legislation—If Provincial Bill only, introduce November 32, pass by August 33; if full bill introduce February to May 33, pass November 33. I am afraid full bill will not be ready by February 33, and if Provincial Bill is not introduced sometime this year, new constitution even in Provinces will not begin to function till January 35.

(b) Programme of work after July—Consultative Committee and Federal Structure Committee and the Round Table Conference.

(c) After introduction Joint Committee.

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29 April 1932, Friday.

Had two meetings of Executive Council today—one in the morning regarding debate on Repression and Reforms in India in the House of Commons, and another to meet Lord Lothian about Reforms Legislation. In the latter we discussed Government of India expressing views on the Federation aspect of Reforms as this was developed after the Government of India despatch on Reforms.

Lord Lothian had a long [talk] with me. He came to tea and we discussed the Ordinances and Repression. I told him that Ordinances and Repression will not kill Congress, and that on their disappearance Congress will emerge stronger than before, because at the next lot of Ordinances, next July, such Indian opinion as was in favour of the present ones, will turn against Government. Already moderates want Government to end this repression as Congress has been sufficiently punished. I told him that the alternative was—ask Local Governments to take steps to pass such temporary legislation as they feel they need, and if they can't pass it, have it certified; and if every device fails have Ordinances. This process will get a large number of people to form themselves into a party with a definite programme, and this party possessed of political power is bound to grow strong, and throw Congress into shade—as is the case in the Punjab. He said he absolutely agreed with me, and would like me to

give him a note to be sent to Secretary of State and I could ask the Aga Khan to work it up and impress it on the minds of the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister. I told him I could not do this unless I had thoroughly discussed it with my colleagues and H.E. He agreed and said he would probably send it on his own.[1]

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30 April 1932, Saturday.

Rowntree saw me yesterday. On the whole I am not badly off. My weight is 11½ stones, my temperature is on some days normal, and on others rises to 99, appetite is good, and I do a fair amount of work. The month of May is a fairly cool month, and I may really get on 12 stones, and throw off the temperature if I see that I have plenty of rest, and avoid Dinners and Lunches as I am doing at present. He has recommended ultra violet rays 3 times a week and I am going to try this from next Monday.

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1 May 1932, Sunday.

Zulfiqar, Sunder Singh, Dr. Ambedkar came to see me and talked about different matters. Zafrulla Khan had also come from Delhi to have a talk. In the evening had a[n] Executive Council meeting.

As to Reforms Legislation—it is being discussed that two separate bills for provincial autonomy and for the Federation are impracticable, and so there must be two bills [one bill?]. This means that the Reforms are held up till the Federation is ready for the purposes of legislation, and it is said that it will take a year or so for it to be worked up. In the meantime what would be the relationship between Provinces and the old Centre? Again as to the time factor, it is not likely that the complete Bill will be introduced till May 33, and will not be passed [by] November 33, and elections might

1. For Lord Lothian's own detailed account of discussion of this meeting, see Lothian to Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India) and Ramsay Macdonald (Prime Minister), 30 April 1932, H.M.'s Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, Lothian Muniments, GD 40/17/162.

be held [at the] end of February 34, and new Provincial constitutions work from 1st April 34, and the Centre from 1st April 35.

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2 May 1932, Monday.

Saw H.E. As regards South Africa—we are offering the appointment to Kunwar Maharaj Singh. This is on the whole best. Abdul Qadir offered to go alone, but that was not suitable. At the Round Table Conference Zafrulla is badly needed; it would never have done to prejudice his chances at the High Court.

Then H.E. talked about Ordinances, and mentioned the talk he had with Lord Lothian. I gave him my view. He expressed agreement, and said first he would discuss it in the Executive Council and then in Executive Council with Anderson and Hailey, and deMontmorency who will be here shortly.

I am sure this is the right policy to adopt. These things should be fought out in the legislatures, and the constitution should not be ignored. In the Punjab—20 officials and nominated, and 30 Muslims can pass it easily. In U.P. too, officials, nominated Muslims and some Talukdars can do the deed—they are 20+30+officials.

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3 May 1932, Tuesday.

There are two matters which remain pending—my leave and purchasing a site to build a house on. I should very much like to settle these. Leave is not much use unless it can be spent comfortably and contributes to the improvement of health. It has to be spent away from the plains in a cool place where a suitable house with a good compound is available. Abbottabad seems to be a suitable place, but I can't get a house in the Cantt even for 2 or 3 months. As to site in Lahore it means nearly Rs. 45000/- and the whole cost will probably be not less than Rs. 80,000/-. I have an eye on the ten squares in chak 103 where I have already twenty squares and if I can buy these ten at a figure between 6 and 7 thousand, I should buy them at once rather than go in for a house of my own in Lahore.

Income from property has gone down tremendously and one hardly knows what to do. Is this the short cut to Socialism?

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4 May 1932, Wednesday.

Signed the C.-in-C.'s Call Book, went to office, gave Reid the orders in writing as to Secretariat appointments.

I am taking ultra violet rays treatment for my Bronchiectasis—Monday, Wednesday and Friday in the afternoon.

Saw Kunwar Maharaj Singh *re* the appointment of South African Agent. He had come to have his grouse—that Andrews had offered him the post, he had accepted it, that something of the same sort had happened before, but when I told him that H.E. had written to Jodhpur Durbar for releasing him, he was nonplussed. He trotted out the difficulty about his sons. I did not enter into an argument because in his first letter to me he had mentioned all this.

I am fairly well, and yet not well. I get temperature daily and feel depressed, dejected, in the world and yet not in it or certainly not of it. All matters private or public I deal with as if I were an outsider.

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5 May 1932, Thursday.

A bleak and chilly day. Went to see H.E. Settled the matter of leave—from 20 June for four months. I better settle this for good and not change and chop. I better stick to Abbottabad, take the three houses of Saadulla Khan for my family, Said's family and Asghari, and take another one in the Cantonment for myself and keep Said with me, and one of the girls will be living with me. If we get the house for 2 or 3 months, we can spend the rest of the season in Srinagar. Discussed with H.E. Lady Shafi's case, Alwar, and several points relating to Reforms. In the evening we had Executive Council meeting and spent nearly two hours in it, and discussed miscellaneous points relating to Reforms. I don't think Lord Willingdon is inclined to open negotiations with Congress while he is hoping to raise parties on my plan of entrusting legisla-

tion to Provincial legislatures. I hope it will succeed for this is in the best interests of India.

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6 May 1932, Friday.

Had a long Executive Council meeting. Ottawa Conference so far as India goes is not likely to bring her any good, and the main thing is to what extent India can protect herself against loss or exploitation. We know nothing, we have no programme, we do not know what to push and where to push. We have an export trade of sorts but it is what others are please[d] to allow us and I have a suspicion that it is determined by the shippers who bring imports to us, and must in their own interests take back something. This is the position as against the Economic vultures and beasts of prey—hawks who keep an eye all over the world to pick up the flesh wherever it may be if they can at all manage it. This does not speak very well for the British administration.

Lady Shafi's pension, I am afraid, is finished. This change of front is most annoying. To raise hopes and then to dash them to the ground. This is the very worst feature of Government of India.

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7 May 1932, Saturday.

Had a very long talk with Lord Lothian—in fact had to cut the At Home which I had accepted to meet their Excellencies.

We discussed—a) Ordinances v. legislation. The Home Department wanted to put it off till October by when the Muslim representation on legislatures and programme of legislation will be out. I did not accept this position when Emerson put it to me. Their points were— i - Failure to pass and loss of prestige. My reply—if so, then we must revise policy and make concession to bring in Congress for there is no alternative to it. ii - No time—there is time, and in any case last Ordinances which should give way to legislation not later than end of July. iii - Inconvenience—not worth replying to.

My points were— i - If Congress, the only anti-Government direct action body, is not representative of India, our legislatures

should be on our side; ii - Ordinances—second dose unwarranted, plenty of time. In fact we should have legislated during the last four months; iii - Legislatures—we are violating the constitution; iv - Civilised opinion; v - Raising of parties.

b) Council problem—representation on legislatures. Lord Lothian urged that the problem is further complicated by these factors :

(*i*) Special Constituencies especially Lahore;

(*ii*) Depressed Classes as a separate entity—where is the Muslim weightage to come? especially where Depressed Classes are a substantial percentage of Hindus;

(*iii*) Women's representation.

I told him that Women's enfranchisement by application has put Muslims in a worse position, and thus put off the joint electorates.

This is serious, and we must think over it. I think we should condemn enfranchisement of women by application and we should condemn official representation of women—Any move in that direction being left to Provinces. We should oppose special constituencies, and as to Depressed Classes review our position.

(c) Provincial autonomy but no responsibility at the Centre is dangerous.

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8 May 1932, Sunday.

Diwan Abdul Hamid spent the morning with me nearly an hour and a half. We talked about Federation, affairs of the States, Reforms, etc., weak position of Muslims in the Punjab due to their mutual jealousies. Firoz on our side, Shahabuddin supported in part by Ahmadyar on the other side, and Sikander Hyat supported by Ahmadyar on the third. Shahabuddin is at war with both Firoz and Sikander. Sikander has neither the power nor the inclination to produce unanimity, and is not likely to sink his personal advancement in the communal advancement. He is on the whole better than

Firoz and Shahabuddin; by "better" I mean less open to criticism as his overt acts are not outrageous as of the other two are.

In the afternoon Fazal Elahi came, one who is Muzaffar Khan's assistant. He is a capable young man, and is up here for Under Secretaryship in the Finance Department. On the whole he seems to have made up his mind not to leave the Punjab, as this post [Under Secretary] does not appear to lead to anything in the case of Provincial service man.

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9 May 1932, Monday.

A very chilly day—went to office, then doctor for ultra violet ray treatment, and later to Executive Council whence returned about 8 p.m.

It has been a nasty day.

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10 May 1932, Tuesday.

A slightly better day. Temperature comes on in the afternoon and gets on to 99.5. Feel weak and depressed. Wonder whether I will be able to throw it off before proceeding on leave.

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11 May 1932, Wednesday.

A fine day. Had a good rest, and a nice walk in the afternoon. So far as I can judge, I had no rise of the temperature. I did not place any undue strain on me. It is best so.

As to legislation *re* Reforms, I don't think that is very near—not likely to be introduced till 1933, and I don't think it will be acted upon till 1935.

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12 May 1932, Thursday.

My successor—I have pressed on H.E. that Zafrulla be appointed in my place. He was at first opposed to it, but gradually gave in, and eventually said he would think over it. There is the difficulty of a capable Muslim in London for legislation. Well that will have to

wait. Probably there will be no need till November, and he could go as soon as I return to office. If it comes off, it will be a startling appointment.

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13 May 1932, Friday.

I have had six ultra violet rays exposures. I can't say there is any marked improvement, but, on the other hand, there is no deterioration. I get temperature now and then just the same. It rises in afternoons to 99 or 99.5, and subsides in the evening. At times I feel energetic enough to go out for a walk for a mile or so.

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14 May 1932, Saturday.

Rather a busy day. Had an hour's talk with the new Governor of Bengal—H.E. Sir J. Anderson—appears to be a solid man of experience, but likely to try to appease the powerful party—urban Hindus of Bengal. Then had an Executive Council meeting. Considered Lady Shafi's case—agreed to lend them one lakh to discharge their debts and for Iqbal's education for 2 years, repayable on sale of property or three years whichever is earlier, rate of interest very low 3 or 4 %. Besides this, help to Lady Shafi for three years—10,000/-, This is a great shame for the Muslim community—He died owing nearly a lakh of Rupees debt, and his estate not worth 3 lakhs, and the debts incurred bearing interest at 21% and even 24%. This is scandalous and reflects great discredit on the educated Muslim community. He was so extravagant, and spent so lavishly in England.

Then I had my first At Home. I was present and talking and all the time had temperature of 99.5. Felt very tired.

Then went to attend another Executive Council meeting which lasted for two hours—the matter under discussion being whether Reforms legislation be in two Bills, Provincial and Central or only one combining both. Hailey, deMontmorency and I held the view that new Provincial Central Constitution should be enforced by the end of 33—elections held in October-November if this can be done by one

Bill passed, well and good; if this cannot be done then Provincial Bill be passed first and in time for elections in October-November 33. H.M.G., I believe, want the same. H.E., Haig and the Hindus want one Bill, if possible in 33, and if not then in 34.

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15 May 1932, Sunday.

Attended Lunch at Viceregal Lodge—I was the chief guest. They treated H.E. the Governor of Bengal as belonging to House Party. Both Lord and Lady Willingdon were most kind and solicitous of my health.

Had a temperature the whole afternoon, and so felt very tired and depressed. I do not know what to do about it. All precautions, medicines, etc., prove of no avail. Now I feel so weak as not to be able to tackle work except such as must be done. There is lassitude, lack of inclination to exert myself.

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16 May 1932, Monday.

Have been out of sorts. In the afternoon temperature rose to 99.2, but this is not unusual, and still I felt I could not go for the ultra violet rays treatment, and also could not attend the Executive Council meeting. In the evening Major Rowntree came and said there was congestion in the lungs and advised fomentation. I had betel rubbed in at night, and have added a dose of the expectorant mixture. It looks as if some sort of toxæmia is working in the system—appetite is gradually getting less.

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17 May 1932, Tuesday.

I have had fomentation done twice. Does not seem to do much good. Temperature has not gone up, but the feeling of ennui is there. Breathing is fast and harsh, and pulse is fast—110 when normal—this is a bit too much. I don't know why Rowntree does not try injections of Edwenil. I must ask him. There was another Executive Council meeting and I had to give it up. Zafrulla came from Lahore. I am trying to get a Muslim lawyer to take Zafrulla's

place in case I succeed on getting Zafrulla to officiate for me. It will be very startling appointment, a comparatively very young man being put in India's Cabinet—well there you are. Merit should be the sole test, and I really can't think of a more competent man. Sir Abdur Rahim would have done well, but H.E. and Executive Council won't have him; of the Executive Council Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah would have done, but there again H.E. won't have him.

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18 May 1932, Wednesday.

Can't throw off fever, and remained in bed, fomenting chest and back with hot water and turpentine. It appears that the lung affection is on the increase, from the base of the lung, it is climbing up.

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19 May 1932, Thursday.

There is no improvement. The same treatment continues. A nurse was employed yesterday, and she worked today as well.

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20 May 1932, Friday.

Asghari has been doing fomentation today. Expectoration is free and some relief may be expected soon.

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21 May 1932, Saturday.

Instead of improvement, there was a set-back. Temperature was on the whole day—from 10 a.m. till after 11 p.m. At 7 p.m. Major Rowntree gave me an Edwenil injection, a small dose—about midnight the temperature was normal.

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22 May 1932, Sunday.

It must have been due to continued illness and pressure of work that these daily notes were discontinued. From the 20th of June 1932, leave for four months was taken, and Zafrulla was put in my place. The Punjab Unionist Party celebrated the temporary appoint-

ment of Zafrulla in a sumptuous lunch at Stiffles, at which officials and non-officials, Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Europeans were present; and the occasion marked a great triumph for me, for the P.N.U. Party, for the Muslims, and for the Punjab. I proceeded to Abbottabad. At times I had temperature, but the rest did me good, and on the whole I improved.

In October, after spending a day with Sikander, Wah and a few days in Lahore, went to Delhi. November 32 to March 33—in Delhi was on the whole not bad. In September 32, Azim had proceeded to Cambridge. April 33 to October 33—in Simla was fair. November 33 to April 34——in Delhi. Did the Bengal tour spending several days in Calcutta, and visiting Dacca, Barisal, Patna, Benares, Lucknow. My wife, Asghari, Naima, her governess, Said and his servant were with me. It was a good and pleasant tour. We had the earthquake at Barisal. Towards the end of the season, temperature recurred, and felt poorly. Aga Khan came and entertained him.

April 34 to October 34—Simla—was very poorly, feeling weak. October 34 to 31 March 35—Delhi—was very poorly weak.

Returned on 1st April 35, and feeling very poorly. Naima got dysentry about the 8th of April, and died on the 27th of April.

We left Lahore on the 8th of May, and are now in Abbottabad. For the last few days, I have been thinking of resuming recording of daily notes, and today have actually carried out the intention.

F.H. 30/5/35.

Futility of human wishes—this has been on my table for more than a month. During the whole of June I have recorded nothing. I better try to summarise the events.

Nasim got transferred to Ambala. He tried to avoid it. Firoz spoke to the Chief Secretary and said the transfer is put off, but later said it is on, and expressed disgust that the Chief Secretary and the D.C. between them had done him. He is hopeless, eight years in office have not taught him much, and he is not competent. Sikander

has proved himself to be a better administrator than Firoz. I believe Chhotu Ram, Manohar Lal, Gokal Chand have shown more competence than Firoz. He lacks character too.

It can be said in his favour that others are not much better.

My wife went to Lahore, to give Nasim all the furniture etc. he wanted, and was away for 8 days. Nasim is now settled in Ambala.

Akhtari is in Delhi and has given birth to a girl—27th of June, and is doing well. I sent her Rs.750 for expenses of confinement.

Sikander has been ill with his kidney trouble. He has got over it, and is better, but the threat of another attack is there. He has been *ill* for 2 months—May and June, and is now going for Murree and Lahore, on his way to Calcutta; and then goes to Bombay, and then to England.

Zafrulla has settled down to his work and I believe is getting on nicely.

Ahrar-Mirzai controversy, and now Quetta sufferers have helped Ahrars a great deal. They are the extremists, the riff-raffs of Muslims, and as such Congress seduces them. Firoz is frightened of them and supports them; Sikander and Muzaffar have been in league with them and encouraging them; Amiruddin is also keeping on the right side of them; while Ahmadyar finances them and encourages them and supports them. Thus they are the recipients of help and support from different persons who hope to use them against each other. Even Government officials and in particular the C.I.D. are said to be their supporters. They are strongly against me.

Azim is in for the London Competition in August and comes here in September.

F.H. 1/7/35.

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1 July 1935, Monday.

29th and 30th June were very warm days—very much like the plains' weather. In the afternoon, there was a sharp shower of rain, but had little effect. At night, there were two or three very good

showers, and brought the wintery weather. It was marvellous. This morning it was quite cold and the day was very pleasant.

Saw Mian Bashir Ahmad about Dr. Lakshman Sarup's translation of his thesis on Moliere, and one of his dramas, to see whether the translation needed revision.

My health—six weeks ago, my weight was 9 stones 8 lbs, now it is 10 stones. This is not bad. I feel better; the depression is gone and the feeling of weariness is much less. June has been a hot month, so one could not have expected very much.

2 July 1935, Tuesday.

Shah Nawaz and Riaz came to see me in the evening. We sat in the open—Shah Nawaz in a verandah arm chair, well supplied with cushions, and I on my *newar* bed in the true oriental fashion. We talked on all sorts of topics. He looks well, and talks well though at intervals has reminders of nervous exhaustion. He is still shrewd, but bereft of ambition, and objective, and feeling that he has been a failure. This is a pity. This is due to Lady Shafi and Jahan Ara's attitude towards him—no good—does not save, does not make money, has not become a second Shafi. He is condemned, censured and neglected. His own children from Jahan Ara have the same feeling. If he has not succeeded to a larger extent than he has actually done, this is not entirely his fault. A little encouragement, appreciation and admiration may bring him happiness, and make his closing days pleasant.

3 July 1935, Wednesday.

Jagan Nath Agarwal, leader of the Lahore High Court Bar, was here for a case and came to see me. He told me that for a long time there have been no Criminal appeal arrears, and that civil appeal arrears exist because the Paper Books have not been printed. During vacations a good many cases will be ready, and will be finished long before the end of the cold weather. He thinks that by April 1937 there will be no civil arrears, and the normal High Court strength could then be fixed at what the present permanent strength is and

additional judges added if necessary. I think the Chief Justice should now turn his attention to the Lower Appellate Courts and see that there are no arrears there, and at the same time make the Sub Judges expedite their disposal, so that by 1937, there is no case in the Courts of First Instance which is older than 1935, and none in the Lower Appellate Courts older than 1936; and then reduce the number of District and Civil Judges by 12½ per cent, and Sub Judges by 25 %; adding Munsiffs for petty cases of jurisdiction up to Rs. 500. Under Judiciary we should have a saving of 10% on the Budgets of 1929-30 to 1933-4.

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4 July 1935, Thursday.

Had one of the Isa Khel Khans, a grantee of land and jagirdar, to see me. He indulged in the usual pessimistic talk about Muslims and exaggerated the solidarity etc. of Hindus. I corrected him. It is a pity that this inferiority complex should be allowed to mar the spirit of independence and self reliance. If I return to public life, I will make a point of this in my programme.

Yunus, brother of Shamim came from Peshawar—said it was very very hot there, and though it was fairly warm here, still it was comparatively much cooler.

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5 July 1935, Friday.

Early in the morning fire appears to have started somewhere in the city and at 5 a.m. it was ablaze, and some shopkeepers getting out their goods. The authorities, as soon as apprised of it, called in the military, and took control of the situation. Officers and men worked with a will, hard and long in the heat of the day.

There is no Fire Engine here, and there is no water supply for a Fire Engine, in case one were available. The shops and houses use "*chil*" wood and it is very inflammable, so there was no question of putting out the fire of the burning shops and houses; but the problem was of evacuation of burning houses and those in their neighbourhood, and then demolition of a sufficiently large number to stop

further advance of the fire. This took considerable time, and further advance was not stopped till late in the evening. There was little or or no loss of life; some property in shops was burnt down, but that was due to the neglect of the shopkeepers who, hoping the fire will not touch them, neglected to evacuate. In the case of houses, there has been no damage to moveable property.

It is interesting to note that on the recurrence of such disasters, the authorities at once act, and do their best, and resort to propaganda and give generous help. This is no doubt due to the example set by unofficial and especially Congress organisations in the past.

The weather continues to be unpleasantly warm, and fans are needed, and without fans it is uncomfortable.

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6 July 1935, Saturday.

A very hot day. Luckily got another fan, and the two were kept going the whole day. There was no breeze and the atmosphere was warm, not below 100 I should think. This is pretty bad for Abbottabad.

Wrote to Mr. Iskander Mirza that the attitude of the Frontier Constabulary men towards Indian leaders needed improvement. He wrote back expressing regret and taking suitable action.

Saaduddin Khan's Engineer son and his wife (Sir Liaqat Hayat Khan's daughter) came in the afternoon.

Had telegrams from different people enquiring about our safety in view of the news relating to Abbottabad fire.

Azim has sent a pessimistic letter, in strong contrast to his letters of 3 weeks ago. Then he was hoping to get through this year, now he thinks the result will be unsatisfactory. I have looked up the accounts, and sending £. 110 to him now, he will have spent Rs. 23000 during the last three years. He needs 4,500 more if he were to return next hot weather, and 9000 if he needs another year. Up to September 36, he will have done no Bar Exam; so in case he does not get into the I.C.S., he must stay till August 37, and may have to stay till August 38; and may thus need Rs. 9000 or in case of failure Rs.13000. I must make provision for this, so that in case of

my death before then, there may not be more complications than inevitable.

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7 July 1935, Sunday.

Mr. Iskander Mirza, the Deputy Commissioner, and a friend of his came in the evening to tell me about the fire, and enquire after my health, and the D.C. to express regret personally about the military picket behaving disrespectfully towards ladies. He belongs to the Political Department and as the States won't have Indian officers, they are handed over to the Foreign Department for employment in the Frontier Province.

It has been and is very hot, and the night was the worst we have had up till now.

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8 July 1935, Monday.

It was a bad day, but about midday the rain came and brought down the temperature, washed all the trees and grass and hills and roads and made it very cool and pleasant. We had a most enjoyable drive in the evening.

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9 July 1935, Tuesday.

Chhotu Ram has written to ask me for the Party Programme for the next Elections in 36. It will have to be a compromise one—compromise between Capitalism and Communism, "a limited liability Socialism"; a pro-have-nots programme but with safeguards to have *jats*, a pro-depressed classes programme but without doing violence to the conscientious objector amongst the Unionists, a reform programme largely on voluntary basis, a State aid to agriculture and industries, but without the State taking the place of private enterprise—assistance—to get on and not Substitution; a national programme and not a class programme.

This is to be distinguished from—

1. Communism which dominates the Congress Socialist group, and the Ahrars.

2. Vested interests—large landlordism of the Bengal, Bihar and U.P. type; money-lending interests; centralised industries;

This is akin to—

1. Centre Congress policy—help the masses, without unduly encroaching upon the vested interests of landlords and moneyed classes;
2. Centre Socialism;
3. Combining limited capitalism with labour, so they help each other.

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10 July 1935, Wednesday.

Subhas Chandra Bose produced *The Indian Struggle 1930-34* when in Europe. The book was proscribed. Hallett asked me to read it. The book deals with these subjects—

1. 1920—Amritsar Session of the National Congress—Xmas 1919—Pandit Nehru was President, but Malaviya acted as his guardian, and Gandhi was a minor fry then. This was after the 1919 atrocities. Nagpur Session in Xmas 20—division: those who will work the new constitution and those who won't, the latter giving birth to the non-co-operation movement. Gandhi was leader at Nagpur. 1920 made Gandhi.
2. 1921—Though moderates went out of Congress, still Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, and the Muslims (Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad, and Dr. Ansari and others) joined it—non-co-operation—Prince of Wales—Das's compromise, and Gandhi's failure to accept it.
3. 1922—Anti climax, Chauri Chaura.
4. 1923—Swarajist Revolt.
5. 1924-5—C.R. Das in power—Mayor of Calcutta, and how he squashed Reforms in Bengal.
6. 1925-7—Slump.
   1925-7—Hindu-Muslim strife, Bose was Executive Officer of Corporation, and later arrested and imprisoned.

7. Simon Commission and barometer rises, Congress revived.
8. 1929—Signs of coming upheavals, Bhagat Singh cult, conspiracy trials, terrorism. Negotiations with Irwin through Patel.
9. 1930—Storm. Lahore Congress Xmas 29—Independence Resolution, Simon Report, proposal for Round Table Conference; Frontier—Peshawar recruits, Salt agitation—High watermark of Congress.
10. 1931—Gandhi-Irwin pact and after.
11. 1931—Willingdon and Gandhi—and Gandhi in Europe—a failure—single, world leader and India's leader.
12. 1932—Downfall of Gandhi and Congress—1930 avenged, Gandhi's failure—gave up struggle—May 33—Depressed Classes did him, disruption; After defeat surrender.
13. 1933-4—Gandhi ousted.

Gandhi's success—in 1920; and 1921; and again 1928-31; His non-violent non-co-operation failed, Congress disrupted, and the future uncertain.

Bose thinks the future is with Socialistic Dictatorship. What guarantee that it would be benevolent. He did not tackle the physical sanction—the army. As long as the British do not weaken at home, there is little chance of violence in India securing independence. Therefore Indian politics cannot but remain more or less irresponsible, more or less non-violent; and I think Gandhi's scheme holds good, though much cannot be expected from it.

Bose paints in Gandhi as a clever politician, ruthless in party affairs, liable to favouritism, and intolerant of independent thinking.

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11 July 1935, Thursday.

Dr. Gokal Chand, Minister for Local Self-Government has been in office for 5½ years, and has not been able to show that in Local Self-Govt. anything has been done since the introduction of 1920 Reform which was unfair, and should be modified. He has now conceived a

plan of improving Hindu representation in Local Bodies, by introducing the element of direct taxation paid by a community as a factor to determine its proportion of representation, along with the other factors of population and voting strength. *Prima facie* this may seem to contain some principle, but really it does not.

Local Self-Government Institutions: Pre-reform period—There were District Boards, Municipal Committees, (large and others), and Notified areas. Under Reforms—Small Town Committees were added, and were with Joint electorates, low franchise, and no question of communal proportions arose. The element of nomination is very little. There are seldom more than two seats for nomination.

Municipal Committees—In nearly half of them, separate electorates existed in 1920, and have continued, and in the other half joint electorates exist. In the case of separate electorate in Municipal Committees — to determine the communal proportions, resort is had to population and voting strength, a compromise between democracy and capitalism. Population means payment of indirect taxation—*e.g.* customs. What does Direct Taxation mean? Income tax. There is none other unless it be the Land Revenue. Neither Income tax nor Land Revenue should form the basis of calculation, because the incidence of Land Revenue is ultimately on the consumer, and so is the case with Income-tax. Again, it introduces the element of multiple votes which is condemnable. Again, it means in the case of Municipal Committees that the proportion of seats be determined by the means of population and voting strength. How will this factor operate —In a Municipal Committee, Hindus pay one lakh Income tax and Muslims only 50,000; while on the basis of population and voting strength they were equal. How to measure the influence? What is the object?

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12 July 1935, Friday.

I had a temperature. It rose to 99 in the afternoon. I felt heavy and uncomfortable, and the phlegm dried up, and loss of appetite. This naturally upset me. On the top of this, my wife has developed nerves and loneliness, and dissatisfaction with servants and everything. At times, it is very awkward.

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13 July 1935, Saturday.

I have stopped solid food, and taken milk and barley water only today. This has made me feel light, and temperature at 12 was just normal, and at 4 p.m. a little above normal—to be exact just between normal and 99. I must be careful, so as to bring it within control.

Had a letter from Azim. He has decided to take a later boat and does not land till the 5th of September. Well, let it be so.

There has been a good deal of row in Lahore. This time the villain of the piece is Syed Habib. He egged on Zafar Ali and started agitation for the Shahidganj Mosque. The Ahrar knowing that it was a hopeless case did not take it up. Nothing could come out of it except a few murders, a few hung and imprisoned, and general bitterness. Muslim leaders would not oppose the movement, lest they incur unpopularity. "*Inqilab*" once enunicated its policy—to co-operate with Muslim movements where we agree with them, offering opposition is not within a Muslim paper's duty.

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14 July 1935, Sunday.

'Dieting' has been helpful. Fever has subsided, and phlegm comes out easily and is more liquid than it was yesterday. Liquid food, and plenty of water and cooling drinks have produced good result.

Had my first At Home since I retired from the Government of India. We were fourteen—nice quiet people, and we had simple talk, and the time passed off quickly. Abdul Qayyum wanted to give an At Home on the 19th to meet me, on the occasion of some Committee meeting over which Cunningham presides. I am having my second At Home on the 21st, and this would have been too much of a good thing, so I suggested that it better be to meet Cunningham. After the At Home, I felt a bit tired, but not too much.

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15 July 1935, Monday.

This house has a very fine verandah—long, broad, high, airy, with a very fine view, but it has been infested with '*ababils*' [swallows]. I got their nests pulled down, but in a few days, they rebuilt them.

Major Sharma I.M.S. in the Army sent his party of health workers, and they pulled down the nests, and treated the place of nests and its neighbourhood with some solution, stating that the birds will not come near the place. Within two or three days they returned and set to rebuilding their nests. A few weeks later, another health party again destroyed the nests, and cleaned the place, but two or three days later, they reappeared. I was getting despondent when Sharma suggested treating the nest area with coal-tar. Executive Officer's men did this today, but in a very slipshod manner. Let us see the result.

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16 July 1935, Tuesday.

Jahan Ara has reached Abbottabad. She had an adventure between Pindi and Taxila—a thief got into her compartment to remove her suit cases etc., but she woke up, and was going to pull the alarm cord when he jumped down having already thrown out the suit case and the attache case. The train was moved back, the suit case recovered, and the culprit ran away with the attache case, but it was later found at a little distance. Jahan Ara showed great presence of mind. The Police on the train do little to watch whether suspicious characters are getting into 1st class compartments or not. She came to see us—is well satisfied with her work at Geneva.

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17 July 1935, Wednesday.

A good deal of rain. The temperature is down, and it is quite pleasant.

Shahidganj trouble in Lahore—a great deal of excitement prevails. It seems to me that H.E. wanted some sort of settlement—the building will remain as an archaeological monument, and not put to any use by Sikhs, and Muslims will not claim it to serve as a mosque. This would have been *status quo*, and fair. The Muslims however pressed their claim or their request for the building to be used as a mosque, and the Sikhs pulled it down to put an end to the controversy. The Government feeling possibly that the building will not be pulled down used its powers against Muslim crowds, and to

strengthen the Sikhs allowed their *Jathas* to come into Lahore. Sikh *Jathas* demonstrating in Lahore, and Muslims not allowed to have a procession, naturally created indignation in Muslim circles—Govt. is helping Sikhs to demolish mosque. Well, Sikhs actually demolished it, warned Govt. that they were doing it, and Government could not but protect them with the help of the Police and the Military. This was not playing the game, so far as the Muslim side is concerned, but the Government's explanation is that the Sikhs have acted unfairly. As a peace offering Government has given Shah Chiragh mosque to Muslims, and the Hindu and Sikh press are now criticising Government for it.

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18 July 1935, Thursday.

To continue, Government policy is responsible for there being no leader in any community. As soon as Government officials find an Indian wielding influence, their tendency is to counteract his influence. This has come to be a Government policy. In the case of Hindus, the excuse was that they are Congress*wallas*, and so opposed to Government. In the case of Muslims, when there is no excuse, resort is had to underhand propaganda so as to prevent the community from developing strength which unity brings. Sectarianism is encouraged. Personal factions erected, encouraged and developed, and when they do not help recourse is had to encouraging the leaders of the scum of society to create diversions by undermining the influence of leaders.

And what is the result? Government has freedom of action—can do what it likes, but if things don't work out as desired by them, there is no one to help them. Members and Ministers cannot be really useful if their position is no better than that of glorified Tehsildars, to do the bidding of the Governor. What following, what party, what school of thought! Gandhi achieved great influence, but it was religious, based on ignorance, and in certain section based on the whole policy being anti-British. Government set to itself the task of undermining his influence, and today Gandhi possesses but little political influence. This policy is inevitable if the administration is autocratic or bureaucratic, and that is why Provincial

autonomy can't be a success—autocracy of the Governor against the Ministry— کالے کے آگے چراغ ؟. As a rule no Ministry will function, but if there is a case in which it functions, then you may take it, the Governor has ceased to function under this Reform. Long live John Bull !

———

19 July 1935, Friday.

The Punjab Governor has addressed the Legislators to this effect. The mosque building near Shahidganj belonged to Sikhs; it had remained intact all along ; Sikhs should not have demolished it; Government did its best to persuade them not to demolish, but did not succeed. Government did not promise Muslims that it will not be demolished, Government has not committed breach of faith; Government will enforce law and order; Peace between two communities has to be restored, if it is restored, an honourable settlement will be facilitated, if it is not restored, there will be no settlement, and there will be great harm done to the working of the reforms. Briefly put—Muslims don't start direct action, an honourable settlement can be made, otherwise not, and reforms prejudiced. Now, what is the settlement. The site be not built upon, and left unused. If the Sikhs want to build on it, they need sanction, and Muncipal Committee would refuse it, and appeals to Executive Officer rejected. If Sikhs defy this, then they come in conflict with law and order. If a settlement on these lines is made quickly, it may go down, but if delayed, the Muslim defiance of law would continue, and embitterment increase. To be honest, a strict enforcement of law in *all* cases is a better guarantee of peace and good order than such subterfuges.

What should be done? Deal with Muslim defiance of law and bring it under control. If Sikhs want to build, do not allow it. If they resort to defiance of law, deal with it strongly as in the case of Muslims. Then the two communities might settle down as quits. It is very unlikely that the Sikhs would agree not to build on it, or in the alternative, out of spite put it to uses which will cause annoyance to Muslims.

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20 July 1935, Saturday.

Had good rain, weather was pleasant. Went for a drive. *Juwar* is shooting up like anything and rice flourishing. It is marvellous how the whole valley's aspect is changed as compared with a fortnight ago.

———

21 July 1935, Sunday.

Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan of Kot Fateh Khan came to see me. He is anxious to get V.C. of I.C.A.R's post, even if it is for one year. He is a sensible fellow and no humbug. Perhaps too calculating and too cautious and too suspicious and a bit too dry. These defects might get removed if he trusted someone who helped him.

Had my second At Home. There were 18 of us—quite a good party. Discussed different matters and had a pleasant time.

Lahore troubles have grown worse, and some reaction is taking place in Peshawar. This is deplorable. Emerson probably means well, but his policy of holding out hopes if peace is restored, carries no conviction. If something can be done, let it be done and peace maintained and enforced. If nothing can be done, say so, and maintain and enforce it. Had a letter from Chhotu Ram and I have written to him to say so. I understand there has been firing, and many Muslims have been killed and wounded. As to those who have gone to jail, their number is growing.

———

22 July 1935, Monday.

Had slight temperature again coupled with loss of appetite, and less expectoration. I missed one or two meals, and had liquid diet, and plenty to drink, with the result that passed a great deal of urine, and expectoration became more free. Towards the evening was free from temperature.

This was Asaf's Birth Day. The girls had a Girls' picnic, and my wife was At Home to some ladies.

———

23 July 1935, Tuesday.

Had letters from Firoz and Chhotu Ram regarding Lahore disturbances, and had telegrams from Shahabuddin and Mazaffar Khan asking me to come at once for a day to advise and guide. I have answered saying health still poor, had temperature yesterday, and also unsound to do دخل در معقولات. H.E. may think I am interfering and unless he asks me to come, I do not see how I can go on such vague requests. Shahabuddin does not represent any side of this dispute, and Firoz has been acting as representing the Muslims, and channel of communication between the Muslims and the Governor. I should not like to go and prejudice his position in this affair. Moreover, the Lahore Muslim masses were said to be against me on account of Zafrulla and not sympathising with them in their Jehad against Mirzais. Ahrar leaders were violently against me. Government officials were said to be afraid of my strength; and having made a mess of this affair, is it likely that they would be helpful if I took up this matter? There is a chance of [my talk with H.E. proving of some use to him and to the people; and that talk I should not have unless he asks for it. So it boils down to this that I cannot go unless H.E. asks me to come.

———

24 July 1935, Wednesday.

My health—phlegm seems to have dried up and got more congested and is difficult to expectorate; appetite is less, and feeling of tiredness is a little bit more than before. I can't account for this. The climate is less dry, because of the rains, and there is not too much rain and downpour. Perhaps the system has got used to the medical and dieting regimen started on 9th May and its efficacy has disappeared, and a different regimen is needed. Perhaps it is the change of weather. Moreover, I have not had urine examined for albumin since 8th May. What should be done? Consult Harper Nelson and Rowntree in Lahore again or consult Sharma here? My weight is stationary, further improvement or progress has stopped, and no deterioration has set in. I better write all this to Rowntree.

———

25 July 1935, Thursday.

Had an excellent shower of rain—real monsoon. It rained hard for two hours, and cooled the atmosphere to the Simla standard.

Direct action in Lahore is dying down. There is no support for it except from Hindu and ultra ignorant quarters. If Muslim leaders and Muslim Member of Government could have persuaded Governor to say that he sympathises with Muslims as Hindus are not in a mood to compromise, it would have been a great triumph but none of them had the intelligence and the tact to mould H.E.'s mind in that way.

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26 July 1935, Friday.

In Lahore affair, the Ahrar have taken a bold course and plumped right for condemning the Muslim agitation. Muzaffar Khan will claim credit for this. This will make Ahrars a constitutional party, and to that extent make them less irresponsible, but some pro-Government people may easily enter into alliance with them to secure the riff-raff support in elections.

The pro-Government Muslims have issued an appeal against direct action and *Jathas* and stated facts which are relevant. The only thing lacking is Government concurrence in the allegation that Sikhs have unreasonably refused to compromise. Probably the Governor did not agree to it—he did not agree to offend the Sikhs.

———

27 July 1935, Saturday.

It was a pleasant day. Fairly cool, but bright sunshine. Bashir's wife and children came. They are of very delicate build but apparently very restless and active. I suppose this is the characteristic of this species. They are intelligent and keen.

———

28 July 1935, Sunday.

Had my third At Home. There were six guests—a small cosy party with joint talk on miscellaneous objects. Quite an informal homely chat.

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29 July 1935, Monday.

Had a letter from Firoz—most uncommunicative. He seems to be beginning to fancy himself. As a Minister he has been a failure —8 or 9 years in office—no programme, no policy, simply carrying on the work as prepared by the Director's office. He has no conception of what a reform programme in any Department means. His conception of a Minister's function is to feed and flatter as many members as will agree to be fed and flattered, and then on their behalf intercede with the officials to help them in their objects helping their friends and downing their opponents, and this in return for their support to keep him in office. Whenever I have urged upon him the need for hard work and formulation of policy, he takes no interest in the talk; but shows his readiness to carry out any such policy if I made one for him. When pressed to say what was his conception of working to remain in office, he frankly stated as mentioned above. This is no better than pre-reform regime, if not a bit worse, because the non-official abuse of departmental administration through Ministerial agency did not exist.

The Governors have had no respect for his opinions and ability. His choice of men has been poor, and in the case of Indians, Muslims or others, has been dictated by friendship, relationship, and '*safarish*' unashamed, than anything else. Having said all this—the alternative? Frankly, he is pretty bad, but I know of no better either!

———

30 July 1935, Tuesday.

Firoz is apparently of the view that he is "making hay." He is out to be popular amongst Muslims—frequents mosques, says amen to all the popular slogans about mosques, goes for *Fatiah* to the houses of the killed, pays visits to the wounded in hospitals, has cut out others—Muzaffar and Ahmadyar and Shahabuddin by readily carrying out the Governor's wishes, and thus not allowing his rivals to steal a march over him. He is playing the game that they initiated. He is bound to be disillusioned and disappointed before very long. He thinks that he has rendered great service to Government and that Governor will be grateful to him, and his position is thereby secured. Then reaction will set in and he will begin to divulge all sorts of

things. I believe he has tumbled to the situation that if I am on account of health unable to resume public life, Sikander being occupied elsewhere, he should exert himself to take the chief place, and this he proposes to get through Governor's goodwill, while he has been abusing the Governor right and left, calling him a liar, a sneak, a cheat, a tommy, ill-mannered, rude, and absolutely unfit for the post he holds. His letters to me have been funny.

———

31 July 1935, Wednesday.

My wife gave a Dinner Party in honour of Jahan Ara (Mrs. Shah Nawaz)—there were 18 of them, great fun. Now that monsoon has set in this place is quite cool and pleasant. Verdure is in abundance. Vegetation grows visibly.

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1 August 1935, Thursday.

There are a number of Khans in the Frontier Province whose sons have married European girls. This is what one would have expected, but the marriages are not said to have been very successful. The odds are heavy against the success of this venture.

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2 August 1935, Friday.

Asghari is not keeping good health—liver and stomach not in good order; little appetite, slight temperature during the day, feeling slack and tired. She has had liver pills and salts, but needs something to tone her up. She is unoccupied, and so dwells upon the loss of her baby a great deal. The mind acts on the body and the body reacts on the mind, and a vicious cricle is established.

———

3 August 1935, Saturday.

Had a nice drive, and walked a bit in the compound. My weight is stationary at 10 stones in my shirt. This is the same as in 1934, and about the same as in 1933. I had hoped to take it up to 11 stones by October, and with luck to 11½ in cold weather, but I doubt whether it will go beyond 10 by next October. However,

I feel better and more active, and deterioration has been checked. For the present I should be satisfied with this and in October start a fresh scheme to improve my health.

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4 August 1935, Sunday.

Since my retirement on the 1st of April 35, I have been in seclusion, and this afternoon appeared publicly at a largely attended At Home given by Sir Abdul Qayyum and Kazi Mir Ahmad to meet me. For Abbottabad it was a very large show, attended by all communities and by ladies, European and Indian. It was well managed and well run. I talked to many people, and then went round and talked to three or four groups on Reforms and the Frontier Province, Educational Reform and Educational Ideals and stressed the need for bridging the gulf between the classes and the masses. Later watched Tennis. It was a successful function.

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5 August 1935, Monday.

I have modified the daily regimen. For the last three months I have led the '*Palang*' (Bed) life. I have been in bed day and night, and there is no place more comfortable than bed. Now, I think I better dress every day for a few hours and have chair life, and the rest to be *Palang* life as heretofore. Leave bed at 8-30 a.m., Bath and dress; 9-30 a.m., "Hazri"; 10 to 12—office and drawing room—correspondence etc. including visitors 10-30 to 11-30 a.m.; then rest 12 to 1, and lunch at 1, and rest 2 to 4 p.m. Dress again at 5, have tea, 5-30 to 6-30 see visitors, 7 to 8 Drive. Thus I will be out of bed 8-30 to 12, and 5 to 8, in all 6½ hours. This will prevent being lazy, and yet will not mean any great strain.

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6 August 1935, Tuesday.

Had a heavy Dak, answered five letters and felt tired at 12, undressed and rested in bed. Being dressed is a strain and makes me get tired. Shahabuddin's letter hints that in the Lahore affair, the Governor had his way, Firoz carried out his bidding from the very beginning, and the Governor would not listen to any alternative

suggestion. So far as I can see a policy of deceit has been pursued—

1. Demolition—Sikhs have promised to hold their hands.
2. After demolition—Sikhs have acted unwisely, broken their promise. Even now a settlement honourable to both is not impossible; and Governor will try to secure it.
3. After efforts—and firing etc.—It has not been arrived at, but Government will do XY&Z, do not adopt direct action.

All along, it is the same story. Instead of saying this is the right thing to do and should be done, whatever said is—you will in this dispute gain if you do so and so; and the gain has not materialised. This is the low cunning tactics which the masses associate with all authority—deceit pure and simple. The result is that the wrong doers, those who have recourse to direct action, and leaders of such action, gain in public esteem and gain sympathy all round and their wrong doing is converted into heroism and martyrdom, and the way is paved for a second manifestation of direct action. If direct action is wrong, what does it mean—the Minister to go about visiting the killed and the injured, obviously under H.E.'s patronage? And what has been the result—the bitterness between Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs greater than ever before, and Government holding that both sides are in the wrong and neither side would listen to Government—failure of all agencies, *and vindication of brute force.*

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7 August 1935, Wednesday.

Nasim is in Simla, in a flat on the Mall, opposite the Gaiety, and is eloquent in praise of it. The situation is no doubt central, but it is right in the most thickly populated part of Simla, between two Bazars—upper and lower, no compound, no verandahs, probably low roofs. He admires the accommodation for cleanliness, being hygienic, free from mosquitoes, and says Shamim and Iffi can sleep for long hours undisturbed, and Iffi feels cheerful and happy. He wishes to leave Shamim, the boys, the maidservant and the bearer in this flat in Simla, and go back himself to Ambala on the 12th, and come back on the 1st of September to take them back to Ambala.

The objection to this course is that there is no lady of the family with Shamim and no male member of the family to look after them, and no old servant of the family either. On the other hand, if the boys do not recuperate their health, they may fall ill in Ambala. In view of this, my wife and I have agreed to Nasim's proposal and informed him.

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8 August 1935, Thursday.

Abbottabad is muggy now a days. It is not unhealthy. One can sleep right outside when very close, and always in the verandah. This is not so in Simla, not even in Kasauli. Again, the great advantage of using your car; and again not too much rain. One is not, therefore, quite clear if Kasauli is better than Abbottabad. Both are Cantonment stations; Kasauli is higher and colder, has more rain. For Kasauli—colder;

For Abbottabad—more accessible; less elevation; has rain; can use car, can sleep right out, cheaper in rent and in general; trips by car easy; more society. As to health—Abbottabad is healthier.

A good Bungalow in the Cantt. area of Abbottabad makes Abbottabad a much more desirable summer resort than Kasauli with a bungalow outside Cantt area.

Kasauli is however very convenient for Delhi, Ambala Division, and even Jullundher. It is desirable to rebuild the lower cottage—two rooms with a bathroom and some sort of verandah, and an upper storey if possible and suitably furnished. This would do for a couple. Then the upper cottage should be rebuilt. It would be worth-while to spend six thousand Rupees on rebuilding the cottage.

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9 August 1935, Friday.

Feel weak and miserable due probably to humidity. I very much doubt that I will be able to resume public life again. Mental energy and vitality are available, but physical share is lacking, and the organisation of a strong personal secretariat can enable one to supplement mental energy and vitality and to a minor extent

physical exertion in the matter of interviews and entertainment, but one must hold meetings with colleagues, secretaries, Governor, press talk, make speeches in Council and from the public platform, and I don't think I can do it. It would be best to be absolutely frank about it, from the very beginning—April 36, when the election struggle will start in earnest.

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10 August 1935, Saturday.

Ahmad Said and his two sons accompanied by Fazal and his son arrived this morning. It rained a great deal and the day was first cool and then cold. Ahmad Said told us that Lahore and Sialkot were unpleasantly warm and intolerable. They talked of the Shahidganj troubles—excitement amongst the masses. Complaints against Government for supporting Sikhs and opposing Muslims seem to be widespread.

Ahmad Said spoke about Booth and urged that his supercession several times in view of his disagreements with Mitter and Bhore is attributed to his pro-Muslim tendencies, with the result that British officials in the Department are under the impression that the treatment to be meted out to Hindus and Muslims in the Department should be differential—Hindus not to be punished and Muslims can be punished. This demoralises Muslim officials. I dare say there is something in this, may be there is a good deal in it. Booth's case however is a hopeless one. I did my best to help in 1934. It was no use. I explained it all to him.

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11 August 1935, Sunday.

Had my third At Home—ten guests including Middleton, Judge, came, Anderson Executive Engineer, Lt. Atkinson, a friend of an A.D.C. at Viceroy's House, Nawab Hamidullah Khan, Abdur Rahim, Parmanand, Diwanchand. I discussed Judicial administration, and chalked out a programme of Reform—

(a) Punchayats—larger number, greater powers, to take away petty legislation, revenue, civil and criminal from courts.

(b) Civil litigation—petty—Munsiffs and lower Magistracy—lower pay, only one appeal, no revision, strengthen appellate machinery.

(c) Civil litigation—Sub Judges and Magistrates—very much reduced in number.

Recruitment—qualifying exam.—Munsiffs eligible. Here again, no appeal, no Revision.

This should reduce cost of Judiciary and Jails by at least 25 per cent.

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12 August 1935, Monday.

My wife had an attack of colic. It comes when the stomach has ceased to work, the liver is congested or lethargic, and there has been chill, and fatigue. She ignored all the symptoms, and will not take preventive measures in time. Last night's attack was a bad one. The danger of such attacks is their pressure on heart, but she simply will forget all about it when the attack is over. In her diet, she defies all advice, is full of regrets during the attack, and reverts to her defiant attitude after the attack has passed off.

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13 August 1935, Tuesday.

Ahmad Said, his two sons, Fazal, son of Muhammad Sadiq and his son were here on a visit and staying with us. Ahmad Said consulted me about his sons. The elder, Mahmud, is 21 or so, while his University age is only 17 or so, and Ahmad Said says he is a year older than the University age which is wrong being the age of Masud. Mahmud's low age would help him in competitions; but his aptitude for education and exams is much below the average, and therefore the start of four years is not likely to prove very helpful. On the other hand, Ahmad Said feels that if Mahmud is no good for competitions, and he will take his B.A. in 1937, at the University age of 19, if he tries to get him employment, they may make him wait for two or three years. Well, in the first place, he is not likely to pass out in 2 years, more likely it will be four years *i.e.* 1939, University

age being 21, real 25, alleged 22. Two or three years for search and effort, and this will help. Masud is said to be more industrious, he has matriculated at 17. Well, this is not very much. I am afraid there is not much chance of their getting an employment of three figures when they take their B.A.

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14 August 1935, Wednesday.

My wife and daughters went to another picnic for lunch and tea at a place called Bagnor. They enjoyed themselves thoroughly. The place was picturesque, accommodation good, and food though very rich was good; and company interesting and pleasant. They were away from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. The height is 1500 feet or so above Abbottabad on the way to Nathiagali, and our car seems to have done it fairly well.

———

15 August 1935, Thursday.

Cleared a great deal of arrears—in correspondence and reading up of journals of all sorts, and there are just a few commitments left, and then I will be free to frame some programme for September and then for the next cold weather. There are two Urdu manuscripts—one of Dr. Lakshman Sarup, and another of Kifait Ali. During September I should like to do—1. L.S.G. [Local Self Government] circular of Gokal Chand; 2. Lahore disturbances; 3. Muslim Majority in the Punjab and Government's favours.

———

16 August 1935, Friday.

Had a letter from Firoz. He wrote to me a few days ago saying Government is cowed down by Sikhs, does not listen to Muslim grievances or claims, and the future is very dark. I wrote back saying that if this is true then Muslims are denied equality of treatment in the matter of law and order, and if this is so, I must risk my health, see Governor, and take lead and act. This seems to have upset him, and he now writes to say—all British officials are for

Muslims, Sikhs had a good case and Muslims a bad case and in the wrong and incorrigible; and asking me not to go to Lahore. He says in the matter of building on or about the mosque site, the Municipality has given sanction, as regards the saint's grave, the Mutwalli has been bribed by the Sikhs and has compromised with them, and so Government is helpless. My suspicion is that Government has influenced leading Muslims in the Municipality not to make a row regarding building sanction, instructed the Executive Officer to sanction it, as the Sikhs will rebuild anyhow. This is what I call differential treatment.

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17 August 1935, Saturday.

Procrastination! and me—it used to be contradiction in terms. However lazy I was, however ill I was, work was always carried on, demands of people on my advice, my assistance were met, but since the last two or three years, decreasing vitality made me put off things not directly connected with my official duties or political work. Dr. Lakshman Sarup translated a drama of Moliere into Urdu and wrote a very good historical and critical appreciation of his life times and art, and asked me to add a Foreward. I put him off, he presisted, and last December I agreed. I have not done it yet. I began to write it today and found it extremely difficult to write out even one page! Is it that my mental powers are also going to pieces? Why not ? They are after all dependent upon physical vitality, although they may last a little longer than it.

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18 August 1935, Sunday.

Attended this afternoon my second afternoon function *i.e.* held for me by Mr. and Mrs. Riaz Ahmad. It was well attended and the attendance was select. We talked all sorts of things—politics chiefly. There is already a good deal of dissemination of information as to the pros and cons of various proposals, a proposal good, bad or indifferent has to be met by Government, for all the facts are collected, and made available. This produces very good effect. In course of time popular fallacies disappear. I am afraid provincial

politics are likely to remain unreal for a long time. The expenditure is partly purely provincial and partly due to its having "the tribes" as neighbours, and partly due to the connection with the Foreign and Political Department. Were it not so, a reduction of 25 per cent could be made—subsidy could be cut down by half. Even so, the choice was between autonomy and the Reforms, and the latter was preferable.

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19 August 1935, Monday.

Lahore affair—It is now fairly clear that Sikhs are building on or near the demolished building site, keeping the nature of the building dark as far as the public is concerned, and that the Government is privy to it, and have influenced the Municipality to agree to it, and not offer any obstruction or resistance and the Muslim members of the Municipality are mum. Is it that the Muncipality under the Act and the Rules has no power? Is it that the Government has no power? If they have, is it that they consider it unjust to exercise it? or is it that they are cowed down by the Sikhs? Sikhs are very quiet because they are having it all their own way and have reached an understanding with the Government who is responsible for this debacle? My suspicions are that most of my friends are implicated —Firoz, Muzaffar, Malik Muhammad Din, Amiruddin, Ahrars, Zafar Ali, Syed Habib. Possibly, Shahabuddin has protested and left for Dalhousie.

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20 August 1935, Tuesday.

Punjab Government and Ahrar are great friends now a days—Ahrar are against the Shahidganj agitation, and Government is under obligation to them, and lends the Police support to them against the Shahidganj agitators. Qadianis have given place to Ahrar—tables have been turned. Ahrar are now a purely constitutional party. Why then exist as separate party?

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21 August 1935, Wednesday.

Got a letter from Maqbul Mahmud regarding Muslim Waqf Bill which he wishes to circulate. This is another Government propaganda to distract the Muslim mind from the Shahidganj affair. He wishes the present Council to pass it. The Bill is, he says, framed on the pattern of the Gurdwara Act. How can this Council pass it ? There will be two and at the most three Sessions—one in 35, Budget 36 and one in 36 last week. If it is introduced in 35, Government will insist upon circulating it to elicit public opinion, and if it is referred to Select Committee in the Budget Session, it can't be passed unless a Session is held in the last weather, and if the Bill is controversial, it will be put off.

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22 August 1935, Thursday.

Khan of Toru's At Home in my honour. It was well attended. Only men. There were the Judicial Commissioner, Abdul Qayyum, officials, lawyers . . . . [?]. The last was very attentive to all the guests. I talked to a large number of people, amongst others, to son of Raja Jahandad Khan of Khanpur. I stayed there nearly two hours. This is the third At Home I have accepted.

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23 August 1935, Friday.

A very cold day. There was a little rain, but the cold appears to be due to hailstorm somewhere in the neighbourhood. The whether is very pleasant, and the scenery and the views all that one can desire. General health of the station is good, and vegetables, fruit, poultry are available in abundance and on reasonable prices, a very quiet pleasant frugal place.

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24 August 1935, Saturday.

Went to the cinema to see *Cleopatra.* My wife wore Burqa, Asaf, Laurie and Asghari wore Saris and no Burqa. At the cinema on alighting the people round about collected and stared at all women

not in Burqa, and it is very uncomfortable. It is no use saying that in course of time, people will get used to it, but I do not see any tendency in that direction, on the other hand the tendency is the other way and the educated are worse offenders than the uneducated. I am afraid Burqa has to stay for the time being.

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25 August 1935, Sunday.

Had my At Home. All the local guests came, and the few from outstations *did not* turn up. Had a nice informal talk. This exhausts all those who called, and a few more. Now, I need not hold another At Home, but I think I better hold no Lunches. I am not well enough for them and I am not called upon to hold them. The suitable dates for At Homes are 8th September, 22 September, 29 September. I think I better have one on 8th, and then decide to have another on 22nd or not. The one on 8th better be mixed.

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26 August 1935, Monday.

Got a stenographer today and dictated to him two notes—one on the Landholders Constituencies in the Punjab and the other on Ghulam Bhik's draft Bill regarding Married Muslim Women's position on apostacy.

Had a temperature 99.5 from 12 to 7 p.m. This is probably due to wrong diet, insufficient action of the saline. I must attend to this —consult Major Rowntree. There is now a tendency for swelling to appear on the ankles and the feet. This may need resort to Digitalis. I better prepare an account of my health since 8th May—the day on which I commenced the present treatment. I will do this in the course of this week.

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27 August 1935, Tuesday.

Had my light diet—for lunch a little *Dahi*, two Biscuits, and some melon. Instead of tea, had soda and milk. This morning it was Sidlitz Powder I had and of the four salts—Sidlitz, Kruschen,

Epsom and Fruit salt, Sidlitz gives the best clearing. Still I had temperature—99 for several hours. This is perhaps seasonal—Asghari and Husanara also got temperature in the afternoon.

My capacity of work remains unaffected, only between 12 and 3 I feel thoroughly tired and exhausted. I wonder if this is due to the powder I take in Barley water at 11. I better give it a miss and watch.

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28 August 1935, Wednesday.

Cleared a good deal of correspondence today. Our Lahore house is under annual repairs, and in another week or so will be quite ready. In October when I am in Lahore, I propose furnishing it, and arranging for its upkeep. The Lytton Road bungalow appeal will probably be heard in November next. I will study it in September.

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29 August 1935, Thursday.

Azim's telegram of safe arrival at Bombay came. He will spend 31st at New Delhi with Akhtari, and 1st with Nasim at Ambala, be in Lahore on the morning of the 2nd and reach here the same evening or the next morning. He will be in India for about 4½ months, four months preparing for the Delhi competition, and then appearing in the Examination. Then he will be in London preparing for the August competition for six months—reading up and private individual coaching February, March and April, and attending Davies for the last term.

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30 August 1935, Friday.

Muslim majority in the Punjab—I am writing a note on it and think it would be a good thing if it were printed and published. It is intended to show that it is unwise to depress a majority—unjust, likely to give trouble in the end. Services, Local Self-Government, grants; educational, economic and political condition. Then I will give an appreciation of the position of the three communities, and

the British Government and then communal aspirations (real and declared), and what should be done? Indian Nationalism or Punjab Nationalism? For the present Punjab Nationalism, Hindu and Sikh threat regarding Reforms and communal Award. If Punjab Hindus and Sikhs persist in not playing the game—Punjab Muslims should not insist, but let the Reforms be the establishment of autocracy, and make sure that this happens all over India—Long live Jonn Bull.

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31 August 1935, Saturday.

Had temperature, 99, from 11 a.m. to 8 p.m., and the feeling of discomfort was much greater than justified by a slight rise of temperature. I had taken Sidlitz Powder at 5 a.m., and it worked well—had 4 or 5 motions, all full of bile. Had taken Isabgol (اسبغول) yesterday, took some today, and also its crust (چھلکا). Formerly, 99 did not prevent my working, but today, it was too much for work. I feel a bit weaker than last week; appetite is less, and it looks like deterioration.

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1 September 1935, Sunday.

There has been no rain for about a week. Clouds come, looks like raining and then pass away. The flowers look faded, and have to be watered. Vegetables are drying up and have to be watered. It is warming up again, and one would use a fan if it were in the room.

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2 September 1935, Monday.

Azim arrived today at 7 p.m. My wife and Asghari motored to Taxila to fetch him, as by train he would have taken two hours more to reach us. He looks well, rather thin. The first impression left on my mind was—sober, steady, hard working, anxious to do well. Perhaps a bit sad, may be lost some illusion or other. This

is not too bad. I wish him to have all the facilities he wants to make a good career for himself; and I have no wish to impose a career on him myself.

———

3 September 1935, Tuesday.

Shah Nawaz came today saying he wanted to consult me about an important matter. He said the trouble on Hazara border is in a poor and peaceful tribe, averse to fighting and giving trouble, and that it is due to the Shahidganj incidents. He said the D.C. thought that if some Pirs in the Punjab were to dissuade these people, this trouble would come to an end; and asked me whether I would ask Pir of Golra Sharif and others to do the needful. I told him, I did not know the rights and wrongs of the Shahidganj affair, and was very much mystified. I had suspicions that Muslims were not receiving the same treatment that was being accorded to Sikhs, and till I was satisfied that this was so, I was not prepared to interfere. My health did not permit my resuming public life, but if next October it permitted my resuming it, I will look into this matter.

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4 September 1935, Wednesday.

Syed Mohd Ali Jafri came today for a letter of recommendation for the second son of Nawab Fateh Ali Khan to Nawab Ahmad Said Khan of Chattari. I gave it to him. Jafri related to me his version of the Shahidganj affair at Lahore. He seemed to think that the D.C. had assured the Muslims that Government will not permit the Sikhs to demolish the mosque. Later, Punjab Government is said to have found that it could not prevent Sikhs from demolishing it, and instead of proceeding to say so frankly, let Muslims continue to believe that the mosque will not be demolished. Later, Muslims were beguiled by talks and negotiations etc., and even blindly were hopelessly involved in direct action.

In the afternoon Akhtar Ali son of Zafar Ali Khan and .... came to see me. They had been to Rawalpindi and thence went to Peshawar, and then came here. Akhtar Ali appeared to belong to Muzaffar Khan's faction, and the other to Firoz's faction. They really did

not hold the same views, but Akhtar Ali was the weaker character. The other man, according to his statement, has been my opponent and supporter of all those who desired to pull me down—amongst others Iqbal. He seems to think that the Governor is treating Muslims badly, because they have not succeeded in fighting Government successfully in defiance of law.

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5 September 1935, Thursday.

Safdar and his family came today. Safdar talked very poorly, had had an attack recently, and his wife and daughter were also very much pulled down. He is proceeding to Cashmere for September.

There was an accident resulting in the burning of two aeroplanes and the death of several men, British and Indian. There was a great noise, followed by thick black smoke. There was a small Camp, and portions of it were also burnt. These aeroplanes were bombing the tribe across the Hazara district border, which is giving trouble now a days. It is not a real fighting tribe and the cause is stated to be religious sympathy with the Punjab Muslims in the matter of the Shahidganj mosque.

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6 September 1935, Friday.

My wife is feeling very unhappy. She wanted Azim to marry Agha Mohd Safdar's daughter Salima; and it was partly for this reason that she wanted Azim to come home. She broached the subject with Azim who told her that he had decided not to marry any European girl, and had also decided not to marry anyone till he was employed and able to support his wife, and he had also decided not to get engaged till he had returned from England, and he wanted to marry someone who would suit him and not merely for looks. So she is very cross. I told her that the boy was right, that she wanted him to marry to be happy, and that our efforts in the case of our children have not been uniformly successful, therefore leave him alone. She is, however, in a dissatisfied mood, and therefore does not see sense in Azim's contentions.

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7 September 1935, Saturday.

I have got rid of afternoon temperature now. I believe it was due to insufficient action of the salines. The daily regimen is slightly modified. I used to take some meat, vegetables and bread at lunch. I have substituted soup for meat and vegetables, and light biscuits for bread. This avoids feeling of heaviness and drowsiness after lunch. I have dropped Port also; and am thinking of dropping whisky at dinner. This means that diet is reduced, and there is little chance of improving the weight. This is a pity, but perhaps it is best to mark time during September, and concentrate on diet and weight in November.

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8 September 1935, Sunday.

Spent a quiet day. Did not work with the stenographer, but in the afternoon completed the promised Foreward for Dr. Lakshman Sarup's translation of Moliere's drama and a historical and critical note on it.

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9 September 1935, Monday.

Saaduddin and his family came to see us, offering congratulations on Azim's safe return home. Saaduddin and I had a long talk. He is a man of shrewd common sense, clear-headed above the average, and if in office as Minister, may prove useful. He is 62 or so, and in good health, but then Sahibzada is 70 or so and in equally good health, and more shrewd and more diplomatic. Both are unpopular, but Saaduddin might be tolerated for a term by way of change.

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10 September 1935, Tuesday.

Went to Sir Abdul Qayyum's At Home in connection with Tennis Tournament, and then gave away Prizes there. The game in doubles final was hardly contested and was interesting to watch. The Single Final was not much good, one of them being already tired out. Sir A.Q. made a very flattering speech in toasting me.

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11 September 1935, Wednesday.

Went to Bashir's At Home. There were a number of people there. Had general discussion on Women's movement for equality of rights.

It appears that the I.C.S. competition result is out, and an Indian, Rupchand, has topped the list of the successful candidates. It is not known yet ho v many Britishers and how many Indians have come in the top group for I.C.S. I suppose the result statement will be available by the 19th instant by air mail.

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12 September 1935, Thursday.

Completed notes on Method of Election and Congress. Had a letter from Muzaffar about Landholders Constituencies, and studied the Local Government's proposals. There is a good deal of jerry-mandering done—1) To help the Hindus against Sikhs, 2) To help Hindus and Sikhs against Muslims, and 3) To injure Muslim interests in one constituency, to help certain Muslims in another constituency.

I am afraid Muzaffar and Sikander have not been acting either fairly or in Muslim interests, but in exchange of Governor agreeing to their proposals which they thought was advantageous to their clique have shown readiness to agree to anything though prejudicial to Muslim interests. This is very deplorable and makes me very sad.

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13 September 1935, Friday.

Went to Khan Bahadur Kuli Khan's At Home and Tennis. It was biggish function. Talked to Isher Das, M.L.C., who is one of the richest men in the Frontier Province, and to Parmanand, Diwan Chand, Sir Hisamuddin, [Khan of] Zaida, Abdur Rahim, Saadulla Khan, and a number of other people. Kuli Khan has two sons—one has an Oxford degree and has been employed by the Frontier Government. Kuli Khan has recently retired from Government service, and practically his place has been given to his son. Malakpura

is being acquired by the upper middle class people who are building Bungalows there.

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14 September 1935, Saturday.

Provincial Government has issued communique making swords free in the six districts of the Punjab where they were not free; and thus the Kirpan controversy is closed. This could have been done much earlier. In fact should have been done in 1930. Punjab Government has started externment or detention of those Muslims who threatened direct action. This is sound, but can be reasonably criticised on the ground that Punjab Government did not take similar action against Hindus and Sikhs when they threatened direct action *re* Communal Award.

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15 September 1935, Sunday.

Had a biggish At Home—30 present, ladies and gentlemen. It was a lively gathering—a good deal of talk and quite jolly and friendly. I may have another on the 29th, and then close down. I am going to Zaida tomorrow, but will not accept any other next week, *i.e.* till the 22nd. One can [not] have too much of a good thing. No more than three afternoon functions till the 7th of October.

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16 September 1935, Monday.

Went to Khan Bahadur Abdul Ghafur Khan of Zaida's At Home given in my honour. It was held at the Circuit House, only men were invited. It went off very well. Talked to a British official, Khan Bahadur Saadullah Khan E.A.C. who is on the eve of retirement, and hopes to take active part in politics, and get returned to the reformed Legislative Council next year. Seems to be above the average of a Frontier Province E.A.C. Talked also to Khuda Bakhsh, M.L.C.—a sensible fellow.

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17 September 1935, Tuesday.

Started reading Judgment in the Bahawalpur case—the civil case instituted by the Nawab of Bahawalpur against me and other alienees from the donees of the last of the six Begums and an exiled Nawab of Bahawalpur. It was heard by the Senior Sub Judge of Lahore, Sultan Mirza, who was a favourite of Sir Shadi Lal, and a friend of Maulvi Moharram Ali Chishti, and who is generally believed to be corrupt. He decided the case in favour of the plaintiff, and it is widely believed that he did so because he had secured a bribe from the plaintiff and also because he hoped to please Shadi Lal not only by deciding the case against me but passing nasty remarks against me. I appealed against the Sub Judge's decree, and applied for stay of execution, but the High Court rejected my petition. It had come up before Duleep Singh. Now the record is being printed, and will be completed before the end of this month, and the appeals will be heard sometime in November. Going through the Judgment, it seems to me that the case is not a lengthy one and should not take more than two days before an average Bench, one day before a quick Bench and four days before a slow Bench.

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18 September 1935, Wednesday.

There is some disturbance in my health. Daily saline tends to cause something like diarrhea. To counteract this I take *Sharbat nilofar* and Isabgol husk (چھلکا اسبغول), which is said to have soothing effect on intestines. Daily saline causes some depression. Then I take a tea-spoonful of Potassium citrus for promoting expectoration and urine. This also has a depressing effect. I take a saline at 4 a.m., tea at 6 a.m., ...at 8 a.m., Breakfast of two eggs, two biscuits, ½ a chattack of butter and a little jam, and a cup of milk and tea half and half at 9.30 a.m., and sometimes have some fruit, banana or apple or grape and sometimes not. I feel depressed from 6 to 9 a.m., have my bath, feel better, work from 10 to 11.30 a.m.; and then feel tired and weary and depressed. At 11 a.m. I have Pot. citrus and barley water and lemon. This weariness continues till 4 p.m. and lunch is a very unsatisfactory meal—a little *Dahi*, soup and a

couple of biscuits and some fruit and lemon. I feel much better in the afternoon till bed time. I must reorganise my regimen.

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19 September 1935, Thursday.

My wife, Azim, Husn Ara and Asaf went for the day to Garhi, and returned by 6 p.m. They apparently did not enjoy themselves. My wife complained of the heavy traffic on the road and how dangerous the road was, and how it made her head swim between Batiari and Garhi. She further complained of the water of the river being so nasty, and the girls supported her complaints. They left some things there, they brought some things from there, and the outing was not the success I wished i. to be. My wife and the girls used to talk so longingly of trips to such places by others that I felt they also should have them, though my health did not permit my taking part in them, but it has not come off.

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20 September 1935, Friday.

My wife left for Lahore today. She proposes staying there for a week or so, then going to Batala for a few days and returning to Lahore by the time we reach Lahore, *i.e.* the 7th October.

We propose spending four days at Batiari—24 to 27, and four at Dadar 30 to 3rd October, and the rest here at Abbottabad. There have been showers of rain for the last two or three days and it has become quite cold. May be it won't last more than a few days, but Batiari is pretty cold and bracing.

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21 September 1935, Saturday.

I find Batiari Rest House is already engaged for 24th to 26th, so we can't go there till the 27th. What we can do is to go there for 27th to 29th, and then proceed to Dadar for four days on the 30th and have an outing for full one week. Batiari is supposed to be very invigorating—cold crisp air, but no water. It has to be imported from a considerable distance, and the girls do not seem to be

anxious to go there. Moreover it has turned very cold. We are all sleeping in now. So I have decided to drop Batiari.

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22 September 1935, Sunday.

Again got temperature—can't account for it. There was nothing peculiar about diet; and the usual saline had taken effect. There was a fair amount of phlegm expectorated. Temperature lasted from 12 to 5 and was 99.5—higher than I usually have. I am glad we are not going to Batiari. This only shows how little reliance can be placed on feeling better. I am afraid I am not going to be fit for assuming office next year or after.

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23 September 1935, Monday.

I was a bit better during the day, but in the evening felt weak and tired [and] had no appetite. Perhaps the bile and the phlegm have not been got rid of sufficiently.

Both Firoz and Muzaffar are in Lahore. Apparently H.E. is alive to the Muslim situation deteriorating, and has asked them to go and see what can be done. His communique talks of two Bills—*i.e.* graveyards and waqfs. I have seen the latter. It will only create further trouble amongst Muslims. As to graveyards I do not see its bearing on the dispute in hand. Government may be able to distract Muslim attention from Shahidganj for the time being, but the dissatisfaction amongst Muslims will continue to grow. It is based on the feeling that the Hindus and Sikhs are favoured by Government which means Governor, that Muslim members of Government are ineffective and Muslim interests suffer; and there are facts and circumstances which support this feeling. What is needed is a complete overhauling—both Firoz and Muzaffar should go, and really capable men tried. They may do no better, but nothing like trying.

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24 September 1935, Tuesday.

Mir Maqbool came to see me this afternoon and had a long chat. He is a young man just below forty, a B.A.,LL.B. of the Punjab University, and a graduate of Oxford (Honours Tripos), had an average academic career, is intelligent, hard working, both above average, and is very sharp and subtle, and thoroughly unprincipled, with a fatal propensity for telling awful lies sometimes unnecessarily and without any rhyme or reason, just for the fun of it. He knows that he is an awful liar, he admits it, and in fact goes so far as to plead it as an attenuating circumstance when toned with a specially horrible lie. He says, he knows he should not lie, that when he is lying he is conscious of the fact that he is doing so, and that should not do so, and that he cannot help it. Everyone who wants a smart fellow to employ for a difficult and hardy work seeks him out, and he is ready for the job. It is interesting that Government officials, members of Government, public men, princes, all, know all that is said above, and condemn him and yet want him and use him. What a grand society is! (Continued.)

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25 September 1935, Wednesday.

He came into the first reformed Council in the Punjab and then in the second and did very well, but was found thoroughly unreliable. Government used him as an informer, as a propagandist, as all sorts of things—especially Craik and Hailey, and he got a grant of land, promises of Directorship Information Bureau, Legal Remembrancer, etc. He himself broadcast these out of bravado and to tantalise others, and most of them did not materialise at all, and such as were on the point of materialising, e.g. grant of land, were withheld. In 1919, he was O'Dwyer's informer, and also with the Amritsar extremists. He did not come into the Punjab Council in 1927, and went to Indian States. From 1927-34, he was in Indian States—Patiala, Alwar and others. Then he was in his elements. He was engaged, honoured, made much of, then abused, insulted, dismissed, and again the same Prince would re-engage him and go through the same stages. He has been through three such careers with Patiala, and two with Alwar. His last State was Rampur, and he came away this year and has

settled down in Amritsar, and resumed his work for the Local Government and has been busy with the Shahidganj affair.

26 September 1935, Thursday.

He is preparing himself for the Reforms--carries about tales, and if there are none to carry can concoct them in no time. He is as ready to serve Firoz as Muzaffar just as his own advantage and even fancy moves him. He has been interviewing Jamaat Ali Shah and writing up long Memoranda for him to be sent to Government, and I have no doubt he sent a copy of it beforehand to the Chief Secretary. He is marvellous. His health is bad, and has been so for the last ten years and more, and it is Asthma, so he can't have very long time to do hard work, but he is very hard working when he is not down.

Had another go of temperature today—11 to 4—that is bad. unfair too.

27 September 1935, Friday.

Had a much better day, was able to do a little correspondence. Had decided not to go to Dadar. In view of these temperatures, it is not wise to risk going out, and taking all the trouble to make the necessary arrangement. Instead of four days at Dadar, Azim and the girls will spend the 30th of September at Dadar and we all will spend the 3rd of October at Mansehra. The weather here is perfect, and our Bungalow's situation is very good indeed, and the main verandah is ideal commanding a beautiful and picturesque view.

28 September 1935, Saturday.

High Court appeal. I have been through half of the 4th Volume, will finish it tomorrow and take up Volume I and may finish it on the 2nd or Monday. This will give me a couple of days to revise and prepare notes. The S.J. [Sub Judge] has found every point for the Plaintiff. The main points are—

1. Is Khan Bibi's Gift to Shamat Khan vitiated by undue influence and fraud, and not passing of possession?
2. Is the claim in time? a) Regarding property purchased with Rs. 13000 of grant from accumulation; and b) Regarding property acquired from savings of allowance. Does investment of cash by a widow divest her of the right to deal with it as she likes? or can Plaintiff control her dealings with allowance and its savings? c) Custom—tracing it— i) In 1908; ii) 1920 or 21; iii) 1929; d) Evidence; e) P's [Plaintiff's] statement.

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29 September 1935, Sunday.

Mr. Shariff of Baghbanpura and of the Aligarh Muslim University and his wife gave me an At Home today. They are known here as......[?]. Mrs. Shariff has two unmarried daughters, and as ex-Mrs. Abdul Hamid has two married daughters. He is a nice man, average, normal, quiet. She is clever, left a widow at an early age, remarried, and made a success of it. Is believed to be clever at dealings in the marriage market. Is not popular with the younger generation of Baghbanpura people. We had the Punjab Frontier Society—had a talk on world politics. This part of Abbottabad is unhealthy.

Karimpura part is very primitive, and the Civil Station is middling, but it is the upper ranges of the Cantt. area which are the healthiest to live in, and our house is very well situated in that respect.

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30 September 1935, Monday.

An unsatisfactory day. Azim and the girls went to Dadar for the day. I had my "*Hazri*", and felt well and hoped to put in a good day's work, but soon after "*Hazri*", felt a bit tired and did not face up to doing any serious reading till late in the afternoon. Then it was too late to take up the case. Had two letters from wife from Batala—she is busy attending to the godowns of Batala House with a

view to repairs, alterations, etc. She wants me to go to Batala for a day or two, and attend Nawab Begum's marriage which she says is for the 11th and the 12th of October. Azim and the girls returned at 7 p.m. They had taken Nasim, daughter of Shah Nawaz and Rifat, daughter of Bashir with them to Dadar, and said they enjoyed themselves, that the road from Shinkiari to Dadar wasn't half bad, and that the place was very pretty.

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1 October 1935, Tuesday.

I have read Firoz's Graveyard Bill. It enables Local Government to constitute a purely nominated committee to take over a public graveyard where it likes and when it likes, and the grounds for the exercise of discretion are not given, and no provision for finances, though the Committee cannot function unless it had a nucleus of its funds presented to it. For a purely nominated committee to collect funds, and then disburse, and supplant existing administration—the whole thing is too much in the air. For a Minister, on the eve of reforms, to satisfy Muslims that they are being invested with democratic power in purely religious matters, though to a less extent than the Sikhs, and give them this Committee, and Local Government's absolute discretion at all stages and in all matters—it is not intelligible how a Minister can do a thing like this. The measure is not only useless, but most mischievous, anti-Self Government, in principle, and fascist in every way.

———

2 October 1935, Wednesday.

Azim's Urdu is poor. His translation from Urdu into English is good, but from English into Urdu is bad. In one he will get 30/45, and in the other 15/45, and in the two 45/90 which is not bad, but of the Essay's 60, I doubt whether he could go beyond 15 or so—his vocabulary is poor, his spelling dreadful. The utmost would be 25. This will give 70/150 while top marks may go up to 120. Thus he will start with a handicap of 50.

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3 October 1935, Thursday.

Spent the day at Mansehra. An M.L.C. of Mansehra gave an At Home in my honour, at the Dak Bungalow. The elite of Mansehra and a few from Abbottabad were there. We had a talk about corruption. I told them the efforts made in the Punjab during the first decade of the Reforms and the measure of success achieved. The points brought out were—1. In an anti-corruption campaign, the most corrupt escaped, and the less corrupt who were novice or bad tempered, were caught; 2. English Judges in the mofussil often were biased or corrupt, and led to miscarriage of Justice; 3. If high officials were believed to be keen on anti-corruption, and offered to look into complaints made by men of some position and status, it would prove useful; 4. A few prosecutions or enquiries well-chosen had a good deterrent effect; 5. Low salaries was no excuse, standard of comfort should be adjusted to the means available. In view of low finances, and the limit of taxable capacity having been reached, public service should not create a class which is separated by an economic gulf from the people.

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4 October 1935, Friday.

Started packing and made some progress.

Haq Nawaz cousin of Shah Nawaz and Bashir died on the 2nd. He had diabetes, and the actual cause of death was a big boil in the thigh. He was 55. Had ambitions, had great support—his father's (a senior E.A.C. Director of Registration, etc.) and Mian Shah Din as a judge. For several years he tried his luck at the Bar, but in spite of family influence, readiness to work hard, made no progress and eventually gave it up. His wife died, married a Doctor, and had trouble.

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5 October 1935, Saturday.

Mr. and Mrs. Sikandar Mirza gave an At Home in my honour. There were a large number of British officers and their wives. They seem to be very popular. Had chats with the ladies on chances of a

big war—Italo-Abyssinian. The compound of the house is delightful—large, sylvan, good view, quiet, retired and well kept.

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6 October 1935, Sunday.

Went to say good-bye to Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum in his new house which has a very good view. There were lots of people with him as he is leaving today.

Have finished packing and paying off Bills and servants.

We have spent pleasant five months here, and are glad we came here.

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7 October 1935, Monday.

Move from Abbottabad to Lahore—240 miles. We came by our car—I sat in front, Azim, Asghari, Laurie and Asaf sat behind, and they were one too many and so overcrowded, but my seat though comfortable was very trying especially after the first half, as the engine got hot, and the seat was like a Fireman's in a Railway Engine. We did our journey very well. From Abbottabad to Jhelum nearly 140 miles we did 7.15 a.m. to 11.25 a.m. and this because we had something wrong with one wheel and that meant nearly 20 minutes. We stayed at Jhelum Rest House from 11.25 a.m. to 3 p.m., had lunch and a little rest, and then started at three and reached Shahdara at 5.30 p.m. and Lahore at 6 p.m., as on account of Dassehra roads were blocked. Our luggage came by a lorry and reached us by 9 p.m.

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8 October 1935, Tuesday.

Saw Firoz *re* all the troubles. He divulged quite a new story—Governor is an autocrat, a ruffian, a tommy, Pro-Sikh, anti-Muslim, and keen on preventing a strong Muslim Government being set up or any strong stable Government set up, and hence all the trouble. Asked about Graveyards Bill, he said it has no connection with the trouble, that only Miani Graveyard of Lahore was involved, and that nomination will be unpopular, and no guarantee that nominated members will be any better than elected members. Curiously he in answer to my question admitted that the Governor told him that

nomination would be objected to, and yet he kept it on. I give it up —it is impossible to understand him.

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9 October 1935, Wednesday.

Shahabuddin gave me his version today—all was well till the 4th of July. It was after the arrival of the Govern or that the atmosphere became critical. Till then, the authorities were for *status quo*; After the Governor's arrival the idea went out that Sikhs could do what they liked with their land etc—owned and possessed by them, and that Government would stand by them in the exercise of their lawful rights. This happened on the 7th, and was followed by the demolition of the mosque on the night following. Members of Government came on the 14th—Legislative Councillors came, negotiations started and the firing took place on the 20th and the 21st, and is alleged to be due not to violence but to the fear that the Muslim non-violent group might effect a converging movement and take possessson of Kotwali, and the Military policy is to inflict a severe blow to smash up, and not merely enough to control the existing violence. This is, Shahabuddin says, the Governor's explanation of the affair. He is bitter against Muzaffar's knavery and Firoz's folly and thinks both tried to excel each other to please the Governor.

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10 October 1935, Thursday.

Had a telegram from Akhtari saying Akbar has influenza and high fever and asking for her mother, so my wife left for New Delhi. Nawab Mohd Hayat Khan also went.

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11 October 1935, Friday.

Had a telegram from Nawab Mohd Hayat saying Akbar is better and there is no danger. This gave us a great relief. The work of petty alterations and improvements is not progressing well. The girls have settled down. We have got a fairly good Khidmatgar, but still lack a cook.

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12 October 1935, Saturday.

My health is not as good as I expected it to be. Small boils appear here and there, some subside on their own and others continue for sometime. I had my urine examined. It is free from sugar, and there is some albumin, but very small, so I do not know what this boil business is due to.

———

13 October 1935, Sunday.

Mian Ali Ahmad Khan and I with a bearer and a cook went by car to Buchiana, and in the afternoon visited chak 124. It is fairly well managed, but there is a great deal of scope for improvement. The income of 9½ Squares is at present less than 300 per Square, but with care can be raised to a little above 300 per Square, since *Batai*, Mukhtars and tenants have their own way and the absentee Landlord does not get a fair deal.

Rest House has gone down considerably in keep up etc.

———

14 October 1935, Monday.

Spent the day at chak 103. The management there is weaker than at chak 124; and this is due to the traditions of the chak which pamper the tenants too much. I believe the tenants of this chak are better off than those of any other chak, and consequently Mukhtars do very well, and landlords do badly. With closer supervision an average of 300 per Square should not be impossible to reach.

Went to Jaranwala. It is a growing town, very busy, I should say flourishing. Abdul Bari told me that Jaranwala town and the area round about was threatened with *Thoor* (waterlogging of the sort which throws up white *kallar* and renders land uncultivable). He said the subsoil water level had risen very rapidly during the last ten years, and the danger is very great indeed.

———

15 October 1935, Tuesday.

Returned to Lahore. My wife returned from New Delhi on the 14th. Akbar is better. He and Akhtari may come on or about the 22nd.

Did some account with Mian Ali Ahmad Khan. My boils are giving trouble.

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16 October 1935, Wednesday.

On the 12th, Sir Herbert Emerson wrote to me expressing pleasure at my recovery and asking me to see him and have tea with him. I wrote back saying I can come on the 18th, and that I will be away from the 13th to the 16th. This interview will not be a very easy one, as I want to get him to do something to put an end to the present position if he is really anxious to do so. I must think over the problem more connectedly and constructively than I have done up till now.

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17 October 1935, Thursday.

My boils are giving me some trouble. Asked Jiwan Lal to come across and have a look. He said it was a superficial one, and that fomentation with boric water and boric tint was the right treatment, and painting with Tinc. Iodine, and that it should subside in 3 or 4 days.

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18 October 1935, Friday.

Saw Sir Herbert Emerson. Had a talk with him 4.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. I told him—

1. Dangers to peace and good order were from communal troubles, anti-British feeling, and agrarian troubles;
2. The Sikhs were high up in all the three; Hindus of different parts in two at least, and Muslims only in the first. A small section of Muslims had anti-British feeling, but at times they had it badly *e.g.* 1919—Khilafat, Hijrat, etc., and I saved the Community from it, and for 15 years it was free. Since 1933, Ahrars (remnants of Congress-*cum*-Khilafat Muslims) developed extremist feeling in Muslim masses, they themselves were disowned, and now the masses are leaderless, groping in the dark, and making mistake after mistake, and their despair getting worse.

3. Litigation I did not favour 1) Creates bad blood, 2) Finally a failure, develops more discontent and despair. H.E. thought as Muslims had nothing to give in return, litigation might be useful in negotiations.

4. Compromise—He saw no sign or possibility of it now, but after February (Gurdwara elections) it was possible. I told him that after February 36, there will be November 36 Council Elections, and so the compromise would be put off.

5. As to the problem—I advised—Grave be restored by the Sikhs, and mosque site be not built upon. H.E. agreed that he will have the plan rejected by the Executive Officer, M.C. will reject it, and Commissioner will reject the appeal, but what about the civil suit. I told him that it will not succeed.

6. H.E. mentioned legislation. I told him that I had thought of it, but had not breathed a word of it to anyone, as it was likely to be converted into a Muslim demand, and might give trouble.

7. What was the Punjab Muslim mentality of the present day due to lack of confidence and trust in Government—did not believe in the efficacy or reliability of Muslim members, did not believe in the Governor's justice or impartiality. Told him there was some justification—

   (a) Neglect of rights in practice *e.g.*, *Services*. H.E. joined issue.

   (b) Principles in Local Self Government *e.g.* Local Body circular letter mentioned High Court Judges. H.E. mentioned Lahore M.C. number of members against this.

8. H.E. gave me his note of the conversations he had with the Sikhs on the 6th of July. I promised to let him know what small things can be done to indicate that Punjab Government is not anti-Muslim, but is for fair play and equality of treatment to all communities.

19 October 1935, Saturday.

Saw Chhotu Ram. He is hard working, intelligent, and clear headed, distinctly and considerably above the average. Is independent minded and courageous, and yet cautious. If my health permits my forming a Ministry under the Reforms, it will not be without Chhotu Ram. We had a very satisfactory talk. I wish Firoz were possessed of even half the qualifications which distinguish Chhotu Ram from others.

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20 October 1935, Sunday.

Akhtari and Akbar arrived this morning. Both looked very well in spite of the fever and influenza. Little Parvin is nice little chubby baby and appears to be good tempered and placid, not irritable and naughty.

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21 October 1935, Monday.

Saw Zafrulla yesterday. He has taken a very definite line in the Railway Department regarding Government circular and is getting the utmost that the Resolution is capable of yielding. No one else could have given to the matter the thought, the sympathy, the devotion, the determination that he is doing.

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22 October 1935, Tuesday.

The Provincial Legislative Council commenced its session yesterday. The Criminal Law Amendment Bill is being discussed. Hindus and Sikhs have opposed the Bill with speeches, but are negotiating to support it with vote if amended to be temporary for two years, Muslims intend not supporting it, though four or five of the elected may vote for it. So the credit of passing it even as a temporary measure will go to the Hindu and Sikh block.

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23 October 1935, Wednesday.

Saw a large number of visitors and felt quite tired—Shaikh Abdul Ghani and Nawab Mohd Hayat Qureshi M.L.C.'S, someone

from Delhi; and Mirza Sahib of Qadian. The Mirza is active and is attracted by political life, and has a flare for it.

My boil on the right knee is quite painful and is giving trouble.

———

24 October 1935, Thursday.

My wife had malarial fever, temperature went up to 104. Called in Major Rowntree, Civil Surgeon. He took her blood, and on examination, it was found to be malaria. A dose of fever mixture was given. Luckily she had two Allophins the preceding night and Sidlitz Powder in the morning, so the fever did not give as much trouble as it might have done. In the evening the temperature was 100.

———

25 October 1935, Friday.

Rowntree examined me too. My urine showed that Albumin was a little more than before and the urine was not as satisfactory as formerly. This is due to my not having had Barley water and the Powder for more than a fortnight, in fact since the 4th of October 35—21 days. This is very bad and I must not let this continue any longer. My boils—one on abdomen is getting better, of the three below, two have subsided, and one has matured. But the most troublesome thing is the right knee boil. It is painful, and has caused the leg below the knee joint to swell. I have been treating it with fomentation and anti-flogestine plaster.

———

26 October 1935, Saturday.

Knee boil is giving trouble. My wife has got malarial fever. Major Rowntree has been treating her, but she does not like quinine, and he does not know what to do. I have had to remain upstairs.

———

27 October 1935, Sunday.

Two Mistries and one Mason are at work. They are slow and stupid. It is a great nuisance to have workmen in the house.

———

28 October 1935, Monday.

I had hoped to be able to go to two functions—26th—Nawab of Mamdot's Party to bid Farewell to Sanderson, and Maqbul Shah's daughter's marriage, but the knee trouble prevented my going to either. Bad luck.

———

29 October 1935, Tuesday.

Sardar Begum has come from Kapurthala. She is very much pulled down. Appendicitis is apprehended. I got Col. Bharucha to see her. He supports the appendicitis diagnosis, and advises operation on the present attack passing off.

———

30 October 1935, Wednesday.

My boils are still troublesome.

———

31 October 1935, Thursday.

Said came today for the day. He discussed Sardar Begum's complaint, agreed it was appendicitis; but feared her strength was so poor as not to stand the strain of an operation. After discussion, we agreed that operation was inevitable.

———

1 November 1935, Friday.

Afzal discussed Arshad's starting practice. He will return about the end of November. Ghulam Janat would have him start at Lyallpur, Afzal at Lahore. I advised his starting at the place where he was going to practice for some time. If in Lahore, then here, if not, then elsewhere, and come to Lahore after a few years.

———

2 November 1935, Saturday.

Sardar Mohd Nawaz of Kot Fateh Khan came here and came to see me. He is a nice man and I like him. He is sensible and efficient and self respecting.

———

3 November 1935, Sunday.

On Syed Maratab Ali's daughter's marriage, some Multan people came and one of them is prepared to take 175 acres of land mortgaged to Asghari in lieu of Rs. 50000 for the Bungalow. The terms settled are—period 5 years, rate—Rs. 6 per acre, one year's loan money paid in advance on 1st January 1936. The lessee offered to take the land in mortgage for Rs. 50000. I told him that this could be arranged later as the lease will then merge into the sale of mortgage rights. The loan deed will be executed and registered at Lahore on or about the 18th of November.

———

4 November 1935, Monday.

[Marriage of] Nawab Begum, daughter of Mian Ata Mohammad Khan has taken place and I am very glad of it. This was a sort of unpleasant affair and the marriage has removed the unpleasantness to a very great extent. I wanted to be present myself, but my boils did not let me do so. My wife however went, and returned today. This was most satisfactory.

———

5 November 1935, Tuesday.

I have prepared a statement of Asghari-Nawaz matter—it recapitulates all the relevant facts briefly and clearly and is a connected account dealing with all the aspects of it.

———

6 November 1935, Wednesday.

Went out for a drive with Shahabuddin. He told me all about Ahmadyar who is said to owe 7 or 8 lakhs of Rupees. He cannot repay this in less than 20 years, if he surrenders all his income except perhaps one third of it which means perhaps 3000 a month. A great deal depends upon the decision of the case before the High Court.

———

7 November 1935, Thursday.

There has been a great deal of intriguing and manoeuvring about a Friday procession *re* Shahidganj. Syed Pir Jamaat Ali Shah is here, and all cliques and adventurers have been at work to get him do

all sorts of works—Policewalahs, pro-Governments, anti-Governments, and he is said to have played into the hands of all by turns, and got out of their hands afterwards, but eventually the pro-Governments have been defeated by the anti-Governments.

———

8 November 1935, Friday.

The Procession took place. Kifayat's description of it was that the show was a poor one—poor numbers, poor quality, poor organisation, no dignity, no austerity. no impressiveness.

———

9 November 1935, Saturday.

Said has arrived. He now says the operation is necessary. Asked him what did he mean by writing in a strain to make the patient more anxious than before, and the reply was characteristic of the man—I thought if it can be avoided and also cure secured, then operation is not necessary. Stupidity could not go any further.

———

10 November 1935, Sunday.

Fateh Mohd and Bilqis have arrived; Saida from Srinigar has come by car *via* Jammu; Afzal and Ghulam Janat are here, and Taj and Hamid are here, and Taj's sister married in Chiniot with her husband and kids and servants. Later on Said Begum from Sialkot, along with Anwari, her baby, etc., came. So the house is pretty full. This afternoon Sardar Begum went to Hospital. As there had been a good deal of vacillation, the accommodation available is not in the Indian Family Ward.

———

11 November 1935, Monday.

Sardar Begum's operation has been performed by Col. Bharucha who said it was a bad appendix and the operation was performed none too soon; and that it has been done well and thoroughly. She bore it very well, and is getting nicely.

———

12 November 1935, Tuesday.

Sardar Begum is making good progress.

Mr. Puckle, the Chief Secretary came to see me today and said they had information that the Sikhs are conspiring to have reprisals of stray Sikhs murdered by Muslims, and they would impress on the Muslims by murdering leading Muslims, and your name is said to be at the top. Would you mind if Government took steps in counteracting this conspiracy and plant a C.I.D. man in the house. I told him I did not believe there was much use, but I had no objection as I had nothing to conceal from a C.I.D. man, and that he is to convey my thanks to H.E. for his solicitude.

———

13 November 1935, Wednesday.

Firoz came and told me that Puckle saw him and said he should be protected, and said an armed guard will be provided; and he agreed, but has come to me for advice. He then proceeded to state his suspicions—

(1) Government wants to frighten Muslim leaders so that they may earnestly control the Muslim masses for indulging in attacks on the Sikhs;

(2) Government wants to create bad blood between the communities, by poisoning the minds of leaders of all communities;

(3) Government wants to set spies of its own on Muslim leaders.

I told him that there is no occasion to go into all these matters. Since H.E. has offered to do that, he has acted rightly in agreeing to it.

———

14 November 1935, Thursday.

Went to an At Home—Maharaj Kishor's, given to meet Lt. Col. and Mrs. Harper Nelson. Met Bakhshi Tek Chand, Rashid, Col. Rai, Mrs. Latifi. It was not very well attended. There were very few Muslims there and not many from public life. I stayed there for more than an hour and left early as it was getting cold.

———

I have once more defaulted —20 days, very bad and for no sufficient reason. I better note down the main events :

17 November—Foundation-stone ceremony of the Assembly Hall. The stone was laid by Joginder Singh. The gathering was very poor and the whole show third rate.

19 November—Attended Dr. Yar Mohd's party to Lt. Col. Harper Nelson and his wife. It was a very well attended one.

20 November—Saw a large number of visitors—Maulvi Mohammad Ali of the Lahori Mirzais, Maulvi Shafi Daudi who had come from Delhi to see me, Ghulam Rasul Mehr and Abdul Majid Salik of *Inqilab*; and Haji Rahim Bakhsh. This meant 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and I was thoroughly tired.

21 November—Arshad has returned from England. He has been away 6 years and 3 months, and poor fellow is in a fix as to what to do. Practice? This means a long wait—at least five years.

23 November—Wajahat has been here two or three times in connection with Sardar Begum's operation. He is a very sensible man and a good man.

24 November—Sardar Begum returned from the hospital where she was for a fortnight. The operation has been successful and she had very little trouble. There were a very large number of guests naturally. Sardar gave a lot of trouble. I am afraid being in an Indian State, and a Minister's wife has given her all sorts of ideas of self importance.

26 November—Azim has been to Delhi. I am afraid it was a mistake to have sent him there. Zafrulla is apparently very busy and he polished off Azim's visit as a minor duty not of much consequence. In fact, may be the visit has done more harm than good. What was intended was Azim getting to know some of the Public Service Commission people casually socially, not on set purpose. However, it can't be helped now.

30 November—Said came with Taj and Hamid.

2 December—Said went to Gurdaspur and Sardar Begum to Kapurthala.

3 December—On the 29th, Safdar died. He has been ailing for some months now. Diabetes, followed apoplectic fits, terminated in dysentery which was responsible for his death. He was hardly 50. I liked him very much. He was a good man, an intelligent clear headed sober man, with no humbug about him. He leaves behind a widow and a daughter—a very nice girl about 19 and unmarried. This has upset me very much.

———

4 December 1935, Wednesday.

Lahore riots again. This time started by Sikhs to take their revenge. For the last 4 days this has been preying upon my mind, and I came to a decision to devote little that is left of my energy to this work even if it may cost me my life. The scheme that was evolved was this—

(1) Firoz to resign forthwith, and H.E. to put me in, then I resign by the end of February and H.E. puts Firoz in; and then—

(2) Muzaffar goes on three months leave, and H.E. to put me in for the period of leave.

I called Firoz and asked him—he agreed; then I called Muzaffar and he agreed; then I asked H.E.'s Private Secretary for an interview and it was fixed for this afternoon. Muzaffar came soon after breakfast and told me that it would be best to treat his agreement as suspended pending Sikander's views who must be consulted. I said certainly. So when I saw H.E. in the afternoon, we talked about the situation generally and not about this scheme. I made it plain to him that my health was poor and my vitality low. He did not strike me as anti-Muslim as some would make one believe, but may be he is extra cautious when talking to me.

———

5 December 1935, Thursday.

It is cold today—cloudy and a little breeze on, so a weak fragile person has to be indoors and near a fire place. Afzal and

Arshad came. I sympathise with Arshad. He feels that after six years in England, he can't start as an E.A.C. (Provincial Civil Service, 250-20-750-1000) and at the same time the Bar does not offer any certainty, only possibilities and these also after a long time.

———

6 December 1935, Friday.

Felt poorly and no appetite.

I have completed my will in all its essentials, only a few details remain to be worked in.

———

7 December 1935, Saturday.

Went to Batala. We have decided that the old Haveli be repaired and renovated, *Roshandans* enlarged. We have also decided that the two rooms of the Mohranwali Haveli that we have kept be raised in level and then a small self contained house made of them and the small Haveli I have purchased, but we have not yet got a plan for it. As to lands, we found that the Partabgarh lands were not yielding fair income, that *Dhab* can be filled up piecemeal. Some of the Batala lands can be yielded to return a little more, but the total increase of Batala and Sujanpur lands can't go beyond Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 a year, and this is not very much.

The Batala *Kuchas* are full of bad odour. The cleanliness of houses means dirtiness of the street and its drains.

———

8 December 1935, Sunday.

We returned to Lahore. I had a look round. I was barely able to walk a little, and realised how weak my legs have grown on account of *charpoy* life.

———

9 December 1935, Monday.

Heard from Sikander about my quixotic idea as to working first as Minister and then as Member to put matters right. (4 December).

Sikander says he will come to Lahore during the Xmas week and then talk matters over. I have written to him by return of post thanking him for saving me from the evil consequences of my attempted murder. I have called Firoz and Muzaffar and I am going to tell them that my offer is off. My going to Batala on the 7th and returning yesterday, gave me valuable experience, showed how very weak I was and how completely and hopelessly unfit to make a sustained effort even for a short while.

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14 January, 1936.

Again, I have failed to keep the Diary and proceed to jot down a few things and make a fresh start.

1. Various people came to me about the Shahidganj mosque. I advised them to drop the matter, and then something may transpire to improve matters, but that there was no advance possible at this stage. They protested that this meant defeat. I told them that they have been defeated in this matter at all stages and my advice is to court no more defeats.

2. During Xmas holidays, Sikander came to see me, once alone, once with Shahabuddin. His position was—I should announce that I am ready to work the reforms and that I should be the Chief Minister, and that he would resign the Reserve Bank if I wanted him for my Cabinet and that if I desired, he could come even in April 36. I told him that my health did not permit my doing so, and that he should decide for himself whether to resign or not !

Shahabuddin is not committed to either Firoz or Sikander, but in case there were a conflict between Sikander and Firoz, he would side with Sikander, and if it were between Muzaffar and Firoz, he would side with Firoz, *i.e.* on the winning side, but would no doubt prefer to supplant them both.

3. Health—has been bad. In fact during December my weight went down by 6 or 7 pounds. Only a week or so further

deterioration has stopped and recovery of lost ground has commenced.

4. Will—I have made my "will" and it is completed. Its plan is—

(a) Ancestral property goes to the sons in equal shares.

(b) Acquired property—2/3 to two sons and ⅓ to four daughters.

It works out to Boys—ancestral worth Rs. 80,000, income Rs. 2100 per annum.
acquired worth Rs. 3½ lakhs, income Rs. 9000 per annum.

Four girls —acquired worth 1¾ lakhs, income Rs. 6500 per annum.

Thus it would appear that the property set apart for the girls is much more valuable than the one set apart for the boys. During the lifetime of my wife she gets about Rs. 2400 per annum and the boys 6600 per annum. Seems fair to everybody, though a departure from the family traditions in giving property to daughters.

———

15 January, 1936.

I have today closed accounts of completing the house and furniture etc. Amiruddin's account has come to Rs. 1633, and I have spent another Rs. 350 or so, thus taking the sum to Rs. 2000. Carpets have to be paid for separately—another Rs. 500.

Col. Rowntree came round to see me. He found me about the same and advised me to take two Allophins twice a week.

———

16 January, 1936.

I feel better—physically slightly better, mentally much better. Keenness, mental energy, vigour and resolution have returned. I can write, revise what was written before, plan them out and attend to

things. I feel that my physical energy is not likely to be able to keep pace with my mental energy in case I returned [to] public life and became busy.

Had a letter from Aga Khan. He wants me to accept the League's offer to preside over their gathering. I have already refused. He offers his house, and his staff and every thing, suggests journey via Karachi to avoid the heat.

———

17 January, 1936.

———

27 January, 1936.

Another default. I have been occupied in picking up the threads of public life with a view to study the situation and be in a position to formulate opinions on important questions. So I neglected this. Hardly a decent excuse.

My health is distinctly better, weight is approaching 10 stones, I have a *little* physical energy, a good deal of depression has disappeared. I have a desire to work, and work from 10 to 1, and 4 to 5, and 6 to 8—six hours, does not tire me too much. I have seen quite a large number of visitors.

———

27 February, 1936.

Another default and a long one. To resume :

Some one set the ball rolling by a para in the *Civil & Military Gazette* to the effect that I was better, and had consulted the Unionists who were ready to welcome me, that I was formulating an economic programme, that Congress would join in, and that a comfortable majority would be available. This elicited leaders upon leaders from the Press. The Ahrar took the objection that the programme was fine, but the Unionists were weak, conservative, flattering and that Congress won't join because of me. The *Ahrar*, a paper said to be conducted with Bolshy money, took the line that I was pro British and could do no good. The Hindu Press took the line that I was responsible for all the communal trouble, and till I settled the communal trouble, programme did not matter, only one Hindu Paper stated that since

the new constitution makes a Muslim majority, and a Muslim Chief Minister is inevitable, and the Hindu attempt at creating a rupture amongst Muslims had failed, it was as well to reconcile ourselves to the inevitable and accept me and see how things develop.

As this was proceeding, I drafted a note for Aga Khan, and he made his now famous statement at Delhi Muslim Conference meeting, again formulating my Reforms programme, emphasising our patriotism etc., and socialistic programme, uplift of the weak. This was very well received by all classes—officials, Europeans, Congress-men, Muslims, liberals.

Added to this, came out the pamphlet — *Punjab Politics* by a "Punjabee"—stating facts—that Punjab Government has not *in fact* been favouring Muslims. That during the last 15 years, Muslim position has improved very little; and then stating what each community wants, the struggle is political, for place under the British Government; and suggesting the lines of service for the people. This has again created a stir—very great excitement. At Delhi it was very well received. The opposition—amongst Muslims—Ahrar, and some Urbanites like Iqbal and Barkat Ali, amongst Hindus—Urbanites and Sabhaites, are getting anxious.

There is one thing more to record—

Shahidganj business continued to agitate the public. For two months processions etc were prohibited, but the detenus were not released, nor the order as to newspaper securities recalled. A conference was held at Amritsar, the Amir (Pir Jamaat Ali Shah) withdrew, and all seemed to quiet down, when the proletariat started civil disobedience after the pattern of the Sikhs Kirpan civil disobedience, only that of the Sikhs came to an end on the 31st of January and Muslims started a few days before that, and continued for 3 weeks or so. Government of India seems to have accepted Jinnah's offer to help, and asked the Governor to co-operate with him. This is all to the good. This trouble stands in the way of the communities coming together, and we should all be grateful to Jinnah for making the effort, and if he succeeds, Punjab benefits from it.

28 February 1936, Friday.

Emerson has let off all the prisoners, and cancelled all the newspaper security orders. Thus the Government is quit. The Shahidganj account is settled so far as Government is concerned. The Muslims have lost some dead, Government has lost the Shah Charagh mosque. Now comes the crucial question—the site. Governor would help if he could, but I doubt very much whether he can, as the Sikh feeling is very embittered.

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29 February 1936, Saturday.

Ahmadyar is up to mischief, says Shahabuddin. He misleads, misinforms Sikander, finances the Press and the journalists, and mischief makers, and now soars high. Shahabuddin says that Ahmadyar, Mehr Shah and Fazl Elahi are the three worst intriguers and they lead on Muzaffar and Sikander. Ahmadyar is engineering public feeling against me for not having helped Muslims in the matter of the mosque. The reason is obvious—Ahrar opposition, Governor's opposition.

————

2 March 1936, Monday.

Rather a heavy day—saw a good many people.

Jinnah is letting himself go—against Aga Khan, and against me, and against the Conference. This is unfortunate. He has been like that all his life—hence could not get on with anybody in the Congress, or the League or the Conference or the Round Table. Never could form a Party. In Bombay had no influence, and even now is not recognised as a leader. I am afraid, I will not now go out of my way to be nice to him.

Chhotu Ram came—Gokal Chand is trying to bring all Hindus and Sikhs under his banner. Rural Hindus would not agree to it. Their idea is Hindu and Sikh 81+2+6 Ahrars—gives a majority—89. This should be put out—two each—Gokal Chand, Narendra Nath; Master Tara Sigh, Bawa Harkishan Singh; Afzal Haque, and

Ataullah Shah Bukhari; 16 Rural Hindus+26 Rural Sikhs have left the Government; nearly 16...[?] Hindus have also left. Thus 31 is the Government more strength—18 Hindus 5 Sikhs. Two Indian Christians have also left reducing the strength to 29, of whom 6 are Ministers and 6 Council Secretaries, and 17 others. New Government is expected to be formed—it consists of—3 Muslims, 2 Hindus, 1 Sikh, and the party strength is 135—Muslims-80; Hindus-32; Sikhs-19; Others-4, and the opposition is 40—Muslims-10; Hindus-18; Sikhs-12.

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3 March 1936, Tuesday.

Mr. Paton of the Christian Mission and Mr. Rallia Ram came to tea. Mr. Paton talked of grants to Christian Mission Colleges, and said the Governor put him off saying the subject was a Transferred one. I told him this was not fair. Would the Governor have given a grant if the subject had not been a Transferred one. Talked about the Reforms and how little devolution of power was really involved. In fact, there was no devolution from Parliament to an authority here. All that was claimed was that such power as was received in India by the Government of India or the Provincial Government was being reorganised, and in the reorganisation some power was being given to Members responsible to the legislature and also responsible to the Governor and the Governor-General.

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4 March 1936, Wednesday.

Did Id prayers. Jinnah was there. Approved of Wazir Hasan's selection as President in my place. He was pleased.

Mohd Sher died yesterday, and my wife went with the body to Nurpur. No news of her. I am very worried about her. Akhtari came, but went in the afternoon to Sargodha to go to Nurpur. In the afternoon went to the Muslim Club. There was a nice gathering there.

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5 March 1936, Thursday.

My wife has returned by train—had a bad time. I am glad she has come back safe, though has experienced a good deal of inconvenience. She, Husn Ara and Asaf have left for Batala to be present at Ahmad's Nikah.

Had a talk with a number of people. The political situation is becoming very interesting.

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6 March 1936, Friday.

Went to Bashir's to tea to meet Jinnah. Talked to many people. Bashir and his wife looked better than their normal. I like Bashir. He is a nice fellow. Jahan Ara was there. Jinnah does not seem to have made any progress, and appears to be in a *cul de sac.* He seems to be thinking of leaving his clients in the *cul de sac* and disappear himself.

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7 March 1936, Saturday.

Jinnah left tonight. In the morning he phoned saying could he see me. I said, yes. I was told he was coming before 1. He did not turn up. Then he phoned, he wanted to see me, could he see me about 4. I said yes. Later he said he had too many visitors, he could not come. I had him rung up to say, he should see me before leaving tonight. He said he would, but later said he was too busy and will not be able to manage it. It appears that he was avoiding seeing me. It is probably due to the platform, marble slab, and school on the mosque site, that he is doing this.

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8 March 1936, Sunday.

Saw good many people—

Professor Mohd Shafi—I am in for a Presidential address, Muslim culture.

Lal Din Qaiser—about Jinnah and mosque. I told him the site should not be built upon, and that its use by the Sikhs guarded

against. This was almost promised, and yet violated if Jinnah is right. This is adding insult to injury, and Jinnah still goes on talking of settlement honourable to both. Why not be honest and frank and tell the truth. I am going to ask Ahmadyar to tell me what he wishes to communicate, and if necessary to call Jinnah for the purpose. Obviously the thing cannot remain where it is. Let the matter be buried, but let us be honest about it.

Saw Amir Din and Mian Nizam Din.

Then saw Sh. Mohd Amin from Jhang; and later Gurmani whom I gave some points for work. Later Chaman Lal who is working for the Congress, and seems to think that Congress is not dead in the Punjab, and may win even number of seats.

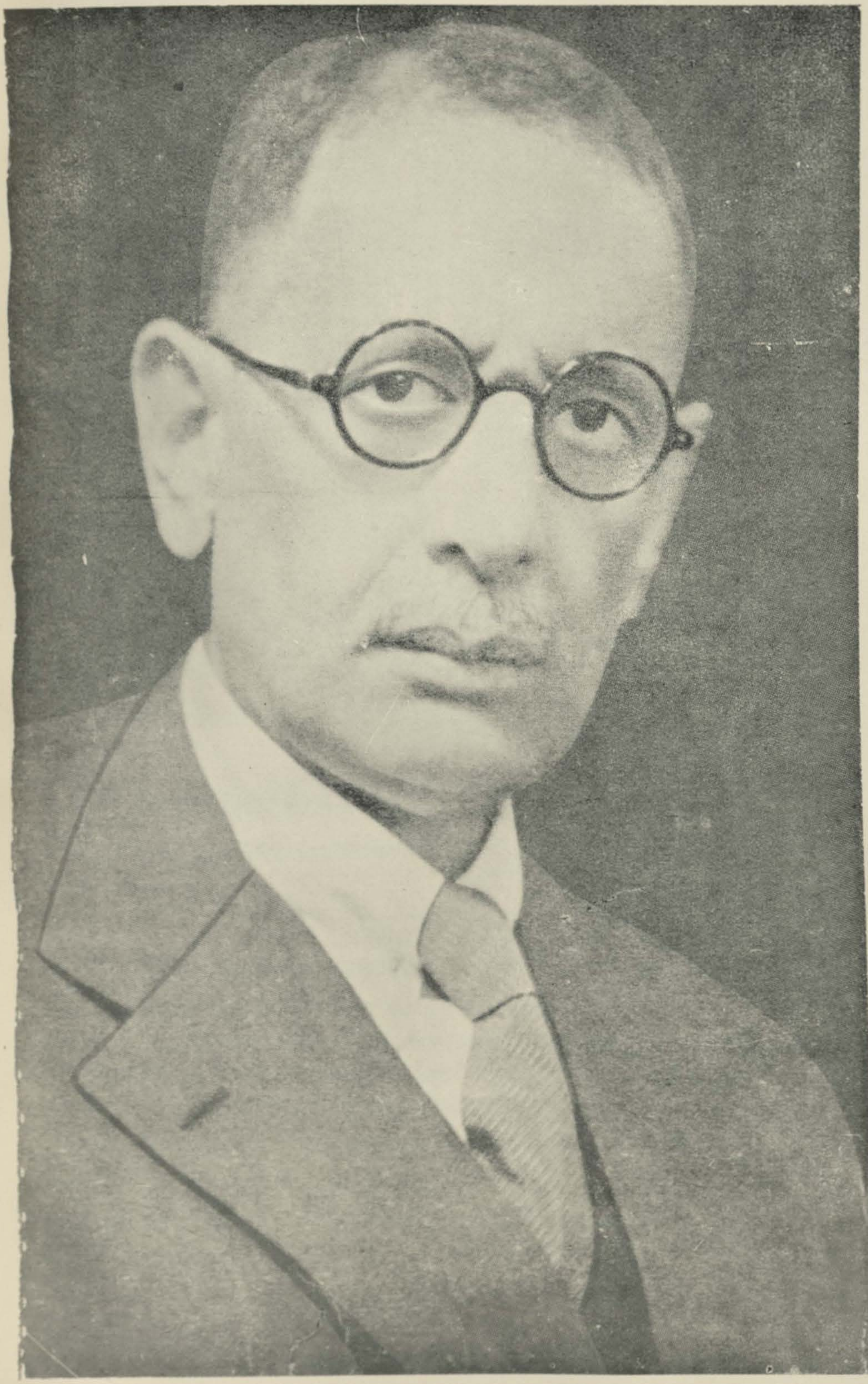
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9 March 1936, Monday.

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PART II

Comprising Mian Fazl-i-Husain's Notes for Muslim Delegates and other Leaders, Muslim Newspapers' Editors and Commonwealth and Government Members.



1. Muslim Position at the Round Table Conference :

(i) 1930 (Suggested Muslim Strategy at the Conference).

(ii) November/December 1930 (Jinnah's 14 points and Muslim fears of the Labour Government).

(iii) December 1930/January 1931 (Muslims and Labour Government at the Conference).

(iv) (Muslim fear at the likely contents of the Prime Minister's Statement at the conclusion of the first session of the Conference), 22-10-1931.

(v) 1931 (Incomplete).

(vi) July/August 1931 (Muslim Conference Resolution and Jinnah's 14 points of 1929).

(vii) 1 October 1931 (Corbett's scheme of the partition of the Punjab).

(viii) September-November 1931 (Gandhi at the Conference and Muslims).

(ix) —ditto—(continued)

(x) December 1931 (on Prime Minister's statement at the Conference).

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1—(i) Suggested Muslim Strategy at the [R.T.] Conference, 1930 :

The question is what should be the attitude of the Muslim delegation in case the Hindus express their dissatisfaction with the Government of India despatch relating to the central executive and demand statutory provision for central responsibility.

The reply is that the Muslim delegation should not bargain with the Hindus for the following reasons :—

(1) You should, while formulating a constitution for your

country, arrive at conclusions on their merits and not in a spirit of bargaining.

(2) If you believe in central responsibility just now, then ask for it without any bargaining, but if you are not convinced that it is in the best interest of your country and your community, then let the Hindus ask for it and keep quiet. Why should you try to be in the lime-light just to be in the lime-light? I am afraid this malady seems to have possessed Muslim delegates to a greater extent than the delegates of other communities, and I do hope that in this last Conference you and others will try to keep this malady under control.

(3) Separation of Sind and Muslim representation in the Federal Legislature should be pressed on their own merits; and if the Muslim case is placed before His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State in a reasonable manner, and not in a bargaining spirit, nor with the threat that if it is not granted you will bargain with the Hindus, there is no reason why you should not succeed.

(4) The basis of Muslim politics in India is essentially national as well as international. It is national in the sense that the over-riding consideration is the best interest of India as a whole and not of Hindu India only. It is inter-national in the sense that Muslim politics in India are not narrow and exclusive, making a fetish of Indian soil, but welcome the co-operation of the British in the advancement of all-India cause. I wish you would all adopt a position of dignity, elevate politics to a higher level than is the case in the modern civilised world, stand out for principles and not resort to bargaining and securing petty advantages by negotiations which your critics might describe as intrigues.

You must not take this letter as the grumblings of an invalid or a crochetty old man but as the soul cry of your friend and admirer who desire you all to rise above the petty political manouvring resorted to on such occasions. I am sure you won't mind showing this to His Highness the Aga Khan, Zafrulla and Iqbal.

You will soon be asked to vote for the release of Mr. Gandhi. This again is a matter which you should approach with a sense of responsibility and not in a petty way of either trying to please or

try to offend those who come to you with this request. Under no circumstances should you bargain or negotiate. If it is right that Mr. Gandhi be released, then you should say that he should be released. In case it is not right, then you should refuse to join those who are for such recommendation. As to his need to bring about peace between Hindus and Muslims, that is utter nonsense. He has had innumerable opportunities of achieving that object but he never utilised them or found it impossible to bring about peace. Now that His Majesty's Government has given a decision, he should definitely announce his view that so far as Hindus and Muslims are concerned, this decision is wrong in such and such respect and that his proposal is that this order be modified in such and such a manner. If Muslims realise that this is for their benefit, they would then be in a position to say that they would like Gandhi to be released so that he may show the Hindus the error of their ways and thus bring about reconciliation; but just because the Hindus want him to be released for them to profess a keen desire to bring about reconciliation without showing the slighest desire to be just, there is no sense in responding to such overtures. They have been for a fortnight at Allahabad, and the net result is that in Bengal they want to deprive Europeans and Christians of 8%, give 2½% to Muslims and keep the balance to themselves. In the case of the Punjab, they want to reduce Muslim representation and also impose all sorts of conditions on the powers of Legislature as well as the executive. In the case of Sind, again, they want larger representation for Hindus and impose all sorts of conditions on the powers of the Legislature and the Executive, thus making clear that they are not for responsible Government even in the provinces. The Hindus of India are not able to make the Hindus of the Punjab, Sind and the Frontier Province see sense or to act in a sensible manner and thus the Round Table Conference at Allahabad, as you, Iqbal and Zafrulla told the Indian public, has achieved nothing except rendering the Hindu-Muslim feeling more strained than before.

Indian Muslims do not believe that Gandhi is serious in the matter of Muslim rights. His desire to have Ansari in London is only a continuation of his tactics at Delhi to demonstrate the exist-

ence of cleavage in Muslim opinion, while, as a matter of fact, it does not exist. Muslim delegates should definitely negative it. Gandhi is the sole representative of the Congress and knows the Congress Muslim mind. Ali Imam, President of Nationalist Muslims, is there. A message has been received that Gandhi is persuading Muslim delegates to leave the matter of inviting Ansari to Government's discretion. Muslim delegates should definitely refuse to do so. Feeling in Muslim circles is strongly against it.

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1—(ii) Jinnah's 14 Points and Muslim Fears of the Labour Government, November/December, 1930.

An analysis of the Muslim views on the proposed constitution for India—popularly called Jinnah's 14 Points.

I. India's constitution to be federal and not centralised.

(a) Residuary powers to rest with provinces. (Point 1).

(b) The constitution of the Central Legislature to be fixed; it could be altered only by the vote of provinces as voting units and not otherwise. (Point 14).

(c) Each province to have uniform measure of autonomy. (Point 2).

(d) Size and boundaries of provinces wherein Muslims preponderate at present are not to be altered so as to reduce Muslim preponderance therein. (Point 6).

(e) Sind to be separated. (Point 9).

(f) The Frontier Province should get reforms. (Point 10).

II. *Legislatures—*

(a) Mode of representation: Separate electorates. (Point 5).

(b) Quantity of representation—
in Provinces. (Point 3).
in the Central Legislature. (Point 4 & Point 14).

III. *The Executive*—Cabinets.

One-third share. (Point 13).

Services. (Point 11).

IV. *General*—

(a) Religious liberty for all. (Point 7).

(b) Muslim culture. (Point 12).

(c) No legislation to be passed if three-fourths of the minority community oppose it. (Point 8).

One of them is that a uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces, and this is to be read with another point which says that reforms shall be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province. Are the non-Muslim British delegates at the Round Table Conferenee unable to agree to this?

2. In case reforms are given to the Frontier Province and Sind is separated, will there be any one who will object to the third point which says that all legislatures shall contain adequate representation of minorities without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality, and will not the weightage and separate electorates that are now being hotly contested by Hindus be claimed by them then? It would thus appear that, as a matter of fact, there is but one item out of these 14 which says that representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates which is the one vital issue. On this point, the Muslims, Europeans and most of the Indian Christians are all agreed, and it passes one's comprehension how any Government can go counter to the demand of these three as to the method of election and as to the mode of representation.

3. There is nothing wonderful in these 14 points. Some of them it may be difficult to put into the Statute, but the Muslims would have been reassured if non-Muslim British delegates had readily said : "Certainly, we will agree to these principles, and if they can be put into the Statute, by all means put them into the Statute, but if they cannot be so put, then let them go into the Instrument of In-

structions to be issued by His Majesty the King to the Governors and the Governor-General, and in any case these are to be the conventions which we undertake to honour".

As a matter of fact, the position is this: that the Hindu delegates believe that as the Labour Government is in office and the Labour Party is committed to support the Congress through thick and thin, therefore, by refusing to agree to any settlement they are placing these matters for decision in the hands of an authority which is their very own. It is for this very reason that pressure is being brought to bear on Muslims: "If you don't agree, be afraid of the Big Brother, in this case, the Labour Government. *They will chastise* you and give you nothing." The Muslim reply to this brow-beating attitude should be one of absolute indifference. They should stick to the right irrespective of consequences. Let the Labour Government do its worst. They should appeal to the British public, and, in any case, not agree to what they do not consider is right. Let the authorities impose what they like on them, but let the authorities also remember that by perpetrating any act of injustice towards Indian Muslims, they will be doing as great a harm to themselves as to Muslims.

1—(iii) Muslims and Labour Government at the [R.T.] Conference, December 1930/January, 1931:

INDIAN DAILY MAIL, BOMBAY.

Scrutator (Mr. Wilson's) communication—

Some say scandalous, etc., some say false.

2. *Jinnah's 14 Points*—

Emphasise separate electorate item, most important, and should not be given up.

3. Differences with the Government of India proposals relating mainly to the Punjab and Bengal. The position relating to them, as given in the 14 Points, should be emphasised and insisted upon.

4. The Labour Government is committed to support the Congress since a long time.

The statement that the Indian policy remains unchanged no matter which Government is in power, apparently untrue, as the Labour Government is going against this theory.

The Labour Government is in alliance with capitalist Hindu Sabha, India, and against Muslims, untouchables, and European interests.

Europeans in India support Muslim claims in the Punjab and Bengal and the Central Legislature, and support separate electorates.

5. The article in the *Servant of India* against separate electorates is a departure from the past policy; should be severely criticised and condemned.

In this connection, *Ittehad's* article on separate electorates should be emphasised and discussed broadly.

6. Resentment and disgust passing over Muslim India against the reported action of the British Government in pressing Muslim members of the Round Table Conference to agree to joint electorates on the penalty of losing majorities in Bengal and the Punjab. The Muslim papers writing strongly against such tactics and propaganda in favour of joint electorates. Muslim papers treat such conduct as treacherous not only to Muslims but to the Government of India and to Local Governments. India is thus brought into party politics. Muslim India, therefore, appeal to the British Public to honour the guarantees given by Local Governments, successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State.

In case this appeal fails, the possibility of Muslims joining the Congress and entering political struggle, prepared to take all risks. Muslim press call Ramsay Macdonald as "*Devta*" of Mahasabha.

Warning to Muslims. Treachery of Muslim delegates at the Round Table Conference.

Instances of treachery of Pashas against Turkey resulted in Turkey losing ground in Europe step by step till excluded from Europe.

Indian Muslims warned against Muslim delegates behaving like Turkish Pashas.

First step towards expulsion of Muslims from India.

1—(iv) Muslim Fear at the likely Contents of the Prime Minister's Statement at the Conclusion of the First Session of Round Table Conference, 22-10-1931 :

Opinions based on reports appearing in the public press as to the concluding stages of the Conference are:

That the Muslim members of the Delegation are afraid of the Prime Minister's statement being prejudicial to Muslim interest and are, therefore, stressing that satisfaction of Muslim claims be a condition precedent to grant of responsibility. Indian Muslims think that Muslim delegates have been entrapped by the Hindu delegates and by Labour Party and the Labour Government, and that although they supported the Government in India and thereby excited the hostility of the Hindus, the British Government have, in order to make friends with Hindus, hesitated from acting justly towards the Muslims and may, with the same object in view, do them harm. Indian Muslims are reviewing their position and have not formed any opinion as to the course to be adopted by them. Some think that they will be led to extremism; others think that the hostility of the Hindus, due to the failure of Muslims to join them in the civil disobedience movement, will, on the success of the civil disobedience movement, lead to aggressiveness against Muhammedans and thus may lead to an outburst of acute Hindu Muslim troubles. Generally, it is felt that if the Hindu India can force the hands of the British Government in the matter of reforms and surrender of power and British interests, Muslims cannot expect the British Government to give them protection. Resentment in Muslim circles against Hindus and the British Government is considerable and it is difficult to forecast its developments.

2. *Hindu nationalism*—Illustrations of it—

(a) The North West Frontier Province—In its Legislature, there should be only a small elected element, and the

mode of election should be separate. In Local Bodies, the Hindus, wherever they were given the choice, have taken up separate electorates and claimed weightage.

(b) In the Punjab, the Sikhs have pressed for separate electorates even as against Hindus in Legislature as well as in Local Bodies.

3. *The Federal Court—*

To interpret constitution, laws relating to fundamental rights and thus afford protection to minorities—

The claim that the Federal Court can protect the interests of minorities is also unfounded because—

(a) The Federal Court will not have minorities represented on it on the ground that it is an impartial Court.

(b) It will be practically under the Federal Government, but, in theory, independent of it. Whether it is under the Federal Government constitutionally or whether it is only under the influence of the Federal Government makes very little difference. Such a court, by its very constitution and nature, and in India in particular for obvious reasons, is bound to be against the minority point of view. It will be just like the High Courts and the British Government's efforts at legislation in favour of reduction of exorbitant or extortionate interest.

(c) The Muslim Delegation should refuse to be side-tracked in this way, and insist upon clearing their position which is confused by the Congress and the Maha Sabha propaganda. Muslims feel that on account of their position in India, they cannot press for startling political changes unless the Hindus agree to safeguard their (Muslims') position in the future constitution. This the Hindus refuse to do. Therefore, Muslims are compelled to stick to what they have got, and, in the case of every advance, to see that the safeguards removed are replaced by others which are effective. At present, they have got

a few safeguards, e.g., separate electorates, weightage, official blocs in Legislatures, special powers of the Governor and no responsibility at the centre. The Congress and the Hindu Maha Sabha want to do away with these. The Hindus, while claiming very great political advance, want at the same time to do away with Muslim safeguards in their entirety. Thus, they want to assume powers which the British Government has at present and thus have Muslims entirely at their mercy. In view of recent occurrences—absolute absence of mutual confidence—*this is the most inopportune time* for such an attack.

A cable should go on the following points—

(1) Against arbitration of any sort, whether of non-officials, or of Ministers, or of Indians or of non-Indians.

(2) Against Hindu attack on Muslim safeguards.

(3) Responsibility for India rests on His Majesty's Government, and when they contemplate any political advance, whether in provinces or at the centre, they should either continue the existing safeguards or replace them by equally effective ones.

1—(v) Muslims advised to remain non-committal (Incomplete) :

The Round Table Conference.—

In view of the very much involved political situation in England, it is obvious that the Round Table discussions cannot be said to have reached their final stage.

It is of the utmost importance that the British Indian Muslim delegates should review the position as to the attitude they have to adopt at the meetings of the Sub Committees and outside. Indian Muslims in India feel that the safest and wisest course to adopt is to be absolutely non-committal, and that if they are pressed to state

where they stand, to rely upon the 1929 Conference Resolution and to say that events in India in 1931 have shaken their faith in their optimistic outlook as to political advance and have made them feel that the great unwillingness exhibited by Hindu politicians in India and by the Congress forces them to the conclusion that the requisite goodwill is lacking; and if they are to agree to responsibility at the centre, it must be under very strong safeguards, and even in the case of provincial autonomy, they should consider what safeguards are needed in their interest. Their hopes as to political advance in the Frontier Province have been frustrated by only a show of reforms having been extended to that province both in the matter of the constitution of the Legislature and in the matter of the functions and powers of the Legislature and the position of the Ministers. Again, as to Sind, it appears that the tactics employed against them are dilatory.

As to federation, they feel that the representation of Indian States is a new factor altogether. If, by mutual agreement of Hindus, Muslims, Indian States and His Majesty's Government, it is agreed...

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1—(vi) Muslim Conference Resolution and Jinnah's 14 points of 1929, July/August, 1931 :

It is of the utmost importance to have clear ideas as to the matters under consideration. The Resolution of the All-India Muslim Conference, Delhi, (1st January 1929) summed up the Muslim position, and the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah constitute but a summary of this Resolution. The objectives of the Resolution can be summed up as follows :

1. In the Federation some units should be such wherein Muslims preponderate and the administration of those units is preponderatingly Muslim. This is to have Indian United States and not all Hindu United States.

2. To achieve the above-mentioned object, the Frontier and Sind were to be separate Provinces, and the Punjab and Bengal were to have majorities.

   In other provinces, the existing weightage was to be maintained, and under similar circumstances weightage to non-Muslims was to be given in preponderatingly Muslim Provinces.

   In the Central Legislature, weightage to the extent of 33% was to be secured.

   The very idea of this protection is due to lack of mutual confidence in communities, and its continuance is contingent upon the continuance of mutual distrust.

   This necessitates separate electorates.

3. Uniform autonomy to all Provinces. This was intended to secure for the Frontier Province Responsible Government. Practically, this has not been agreed to at the Round Table Conference.

4. Separation of Sind—

   This is also contingent upon financial solvency.

   It should not be overlooked that these two provinces are extremely small in size and cannot hope to develop very much. The Frontier Province is a deficit province and cannot expect to pay its own way. Whether such provinces can be of much use in the Federation and whether each Federal unit will have the same vote as the much larger unit is more than doubtful.

5. Federation, residuary power being in provinces; fixed constitution of the Central Legislature not liable to be altered except with the concurrence of all units—these are matters whose importance depends upon, firstly, whether there are 4 or 5 preponderatingly Muslim Provinces, and, secondly, the position of these provinces in the Federation.

6. As regards the share in the Cabinet, the holding up of Bills, religious liberty, cultural protection, share in Self-Government—all these are matters which cannot find place in the Statute, and, therefore, cannot be guaranteed. Such agreement as has been arrived at at the Round Table Conference in relation to Services cannot most probably find a place in the Statute and is good so far as it shows the good-will of the people at the Round Table Conference.

7. It would thus appear that of the above-mentioned 6 points, the only ones which are of primary importance are those stated under para. 2, and after them, the matter mentioned in para. 3.

There are two problems : (1) the method of election, (2) the amount of representation.

As regards the method, the Simon Commission, Provincial Governments, the Government of India, all have agreed that separate electorates for the time being be retained, and, in view of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the feelings between the Muslims and non-Muslims have been considerably strained. Mutual distrust is stronger than ever before. Incidents like the Benares incidents have made it impossible to remove it at present, and recently in the House of Commons and elsewhere indications are to be found that opinion in England is veering round acknowledging the inevitable necessity of retaining separate electorates for the present. Similarly, Mr. Gandhi's pronouncements in Bombay also indicate that the present time is not suitable to bring about a change. It is, therefore, for the Muslims themselves to realise that the solidarity of Muslim views and peace of the country and the chances of promoting the best interests of the Round Table Conference demand that there should be no friction on this point. This was the conclusion at which the Round Table Conference arrived, and it would be a mistake to make an effort to go behind that conclusion, especially as the process of going behind it

will only create more bitterness and render the solution of the next question more difficult than ever.

As to the amount of representation—

In the matter of six provinces, the Muslim position is that the present weightage in general constituencies in each of the six local Legislatures should be reflected in the Legislature to be constituted under the reforms. Recommendations by Provincial Governments which were affirmed by the Government of India do not appear to go to that extent inasmuch as proportional weightage is allowed only in general constituencies and not in the whole legislature.

As regards the Central Legislature, the Simon Commission and the Government of India have agreed to the present weightage which is about 30%, whereas the Muslims wanted 33%. The Federal Legislature will reduce the representation of Muslims very, very considerably. This is a new problem which will have to be tackled.

As regards Bengal and the Punjab, no decision has yet been reached. The Muslim claim is to have representation in these two Legislatures on population basis. The Bengal Government's recommendation gives representation on population basis in general constituencies only. The Punjab Government recommends a Legislature in which Muslim representation will be something like 49%. It would thus appear that Muslims do not get majorities in these provinces which means that they are in Minority throughout India. Under such circumstances, Muslims are pushed into the view that until mutual confidence is brought into being, they have nothing to gain and everything to lose by the introduction of full responsibility in the provinces and by the introduction of any responsibility at the centre.

8. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that this matter be settled before any further discussion at the Round Table

Conference takes place. Details may be settled later on, but the question of principle which must be settled is that the Muslims in these two provinces, on account of their economic and educational backwardness, should not be deprived of their rightful share in the Legislature and administration of these provinces;—in other words, they are entitled to a majority, the extent, and various methods of assuring it, being left to further discussion and negotiation.

The Punjab—

If the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab are moved by national rather than by provincial selfish considerations, why should they not adopt one of the following alternatives ?

(1) Hindus and Sikhs to have joint electorates.

(2) Hindus or Sikhs to have separate electorates; and the other that the Muslims and others to have joint electorates. As a matter of fact, it is the combination of Hindus and Sikhs against Muslims which stands in the way of a settlement and not the existence of three.

It is a matter of satisfaction that the Round Table Conference came to the conclusion that "failing an agreement, separate electorates with all their drawbacks and difficulties would have to be retained as the basis of the electoral arrangements under the new Constitution", and considers that in view of the fact that unless the Muslim community know what their position will be in provincial Legislatures and in the Central Legislature, they cannot formulate their views finally as to what sort of constitution all the provincial and central Legislatures and Governments should have, and that such views as were expressed by the Muslim delegates at the Round Table Conference were subject to the condition precedent that the position of Muslims in the Legislatures of the Provinces and in the Central Legislature will be satisfactory to the community.

In case an agreement is not reached and His Majesty's Government does not decide the matter, Muslim members of the British Indian Delegation should not take any further part in the delibera-

tions of the Round Table Conference, as they cannot be in a position to contribute to the solutions of the problems which will be placed before them.

1—(vii)—Corbett's Scheme of the Partition of the Punjab, October—November 1931. (Incomplete)

1. *Congress Turn-about*—

(*a*) The Congress in 1918 agreed to weightage and separate electorates. Why are they now backing out of it?

(*b*) The Congress, in 1917-18, agreed to give the Muslims in the Punjab 50% through separate electorates. Why now such a bother about giving 5% more ?

(*c*) Do the Congress and the Maha Sabha want further political advance ? If so, what are they prepared to agree to give the Muslims to have their co-operation ? Is it alleged that the Congress and the Maha Sabha want no political advance and that they will agree to it only if the safeguards of Muslims are taken away ?

2. *Re-constitution of the Punjab*—

(*a*) Why has this idea originated ?—simply to meet the Sikh and Hindu objection to the Muslim majority in Legislatures, though they have not stated what that objection exactly is.

(*b*) Hindus and Sikhs both swear by joint electorates, and it is surprising that between themselves they insist upon having separate electorates. If Muslims are foolish enough to have separate electorates and thus injure the nation and themselves, why is it necessary for Sikhs and Hindus to follow such a bad example and injure not only the nation but also themselves ? Why not set an example to Muslims by having joint electorates and thus demonstrating the advantages that will accrue from it according to them ?

(c) Corbett's re-constitution proposals have been rejected by Sikhs and Hindus.

(*d*) The Sikh proposal of re-constitution is obviously absurd because it takes away Lyallpur from the Multan Division, and takes away Montgomery which was part of Multan *Bar*, and Sheikhupura and Gujranwala which were also part of the *Bar* belonging to Muslim areas. Such a silly. . . .

1—(viii)—Gandhi at the R. T. C. and Muslims, September—November 1931.

Gandhi's claim that he represents 95% of India and that any substantial portion of Muslims supports him or his so-called National Muslims is absolutely untrue. He and his Muslim Nationalists do not represent even 5% of Muslims in India.

2. Gandhi's speech in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee about the Army—

He wants the British Army and the British Officers to stand at his back so that he and his friends may rule over India and proceed in the task of creating a nation by eliminating the minorities, or, as he puts it, by absorbing minorities into the nation and to be kicked out when they have enabled him to carry out the process in safety.

3. Gandhi's idea of reforms is that he should rule; that the Muslims should submit to him in every way, and that the British should guarantee peace and good order. The conception is in no way either original or brilliant. This is the position of an average Indian State. So Gandhi wants an Indian State on an All-India basis wherein he is the "Rajah", and the Commander-in-Chief with his British and Indian troops is at his service, for the differences between Gandhi and other Hindu members and between Gandhi and the Hindu members on the one hand and the British Delegation on the other are so vital and so great that agreement is out of the question. Does that mean postponement or does it mean that the method of agreement having been tried and found wanting, the decision is now to be by order? If so, why insist upon a decision of the communal matter by agreement?

Gandhi is at his old game. He is a master-mind at propaganda. A few days ago, he began to give out that he had surrendered to the

Muslims. He says this has been his policy all along ; this has been his conviction for 40 years. He is fond of talking of Muslim demands, Muslim claims and surrender by Hindus. What is the position really ? The position is that under the Congress agreement, and the Government of India Act, Muslims have actually got separate representation, weightage in certain provinces, and now comes the question of a second instalment of reforms. All those who have dealt with the question—Local Governments, the Government of India, the Statutory Commission—all have reported that Muslims should retain separate electorates, and that they should retain weightage in minority provinces ; and as to Bengal and the Punjab, there is a difference of opinion. What does Gandhi want ? What do the Congress want ? And what do the Hindus want ? They want to deprive the Muslims of separate electorates; they want to deprive Muslims of the weightage; they want to adopt methods which will lead to the elimination of Muslims from representative institutions. What do the Muslims, on the other hand, urge ?—'We are prepared to be left alone as we are. If you want a change, if you want to do away with the official bloc in Legislatures, we will not oppose you, provided you are prepared to give us another safeguard in place of the one that you are taking away'. What is the reply of the Congress, of Gandhi and of Hindus generally ?—To confuse the issues, to indulge in irrelevancies, and begin to talk of Muslim demands, and then begin to talk of Congress Muslims, of Dr. Ansari, and so on. These are all devices with which Hindus as well as Muslims are quite familiar. Gandhi's insistence upon Dr. Ansari's inclusion and his parading readiness for complete surrender in case complete Muslim unity is forthcoming have nothing new about them. They are the very devices which the Congress, Gandhi and the Indian Hindus have been condemning in the British Government and the British statesmen. They are doing now exactly what they alleged Lord Birkenhead was doing—asking for complete unanimity and resorting to the well-known principle of 'divide and rule'; but Gandhi should know that the people are not so unsophisticated to-day as they used to be and that the game he is now indulging in is one which has been played out for some time.

He has not the slightest shred of influence left amongst Indian Muslims, and he is now apparently working hard to excite their hostility.

I—(ix) Gandhi at the R. T. C., September—November 1931.

1. (*a*) Malaviya and Jayakar wish to stick to the old Lucknow Pact of 1916-17. This is quite acceptable to Muslims. This only means continuation of Montagu reforms. If, however, the Congress or the Hindu Sabha want a substantial advance on the Montagu reforms, Muslims are not prepared to stand in the way of further advance, provided the guarantees and safeguards provided in the present constitution in favour of the Muhammedans are not done away with ; and if some should be modified, the modification should not be to the prejudice of Muslims, and equally effective safeguards should take their place.

   (*b*) In the case of provincial autonomy, Muslims will not stand in its way provided the abolition of the official bloc does not result in making their condition in the minority provinces precarious and that in the majority provinces they are not deprived of the possibility of having a preponderating Muslim element in the Legislatures. If the Congress and the Maha Sabha are not prepared for this, then let the *status quo* remain.

2. *Shaukat Ali in England*—

   (*a*) Shaukat Ali is reported to have made friends with Gandhi—"entered Gandhi's parlour through Bhopal".

   (*b*) Shaukat Ali should remember that Indian Muslims are watching whether he is prepared to stand by them or once more go over to Gandhi; whether his professions remain firm or whether necessity compels him to leave the Muslim cause.

3. Gandhi says—"In communal, I have no religion"—Quite so. He has only prejudice and selfishness. He is more Maha Sabhaist than Malaviya himself is.

Indian Muslims are no long under any delusion about him.

4. What are the Congress and Maha Sabha after ?—

(*a*) To push Muslims into accepting arrangements which will make their position much worse than it is at present.

(*b*) To push them into arbitration or inquiry by a committee or by the League of Nations.

5. (*a*) Muslims have no demand against Hindus. They are prepared to let the *status quo* continue.

(*b*) Their recent experiences of Hindu masses and Hindu leaders have disillusioned them. They are sadder but wiser.

(*c*) All consultations and offers of compromise are aimed at dislodging Muslims from their present position, and by hook or crook depriving them of their present safeguards.

6. Gandhi is a great propagandist. His great art lies in attracting notice and attention. Asked about dress in England by Indian students, Gandhi advised them to wear the English costume. He would not like any of his friends to wear the dress he wears. Why ? If they did, the charm of his nudity and quaintness will be lost.

7. (*a*) Hindus are great nationalists. They want nothing but nationalism. How is it then that in the N. W. F. P., Hindus want nothing but separate electorates and would have nothing to do with joint electorates.

(*b*) The Congress and the Hindus want nothing but the Indian rule and the leading Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan have formulated their demands which amount to this—

(*i*) A strong European official element, specially in the Police, the Executive and the judiciary.

(*ii*) Recruitment of Hindus to the extent of half in the Police and other Executive Services.

(*iii*) No reforms of any kind or description.

Long live John Bull!

8. *Kashmir*—

(1) Rioting and Martial Law and all sorts of trouble have been afoot.

(2) These troubles have continued for weeks.

(3) Lists of casualties—deaths as well as injured, have become very considerable.

(4) All sorts of promises have been made and broken. Settlements are alleged to have been arrived at and not adhered to.

(5) Peace and good order have ceased to exist, and there is insecurity of life and property. It is high time something were done.

(6) There are some outstanding points which need immediate attention—

(*i*) Is the law relating to cow-killing the same there as in British India ?

(*ii*) Is the reciting of *Khutba* in the Mosque in the Kashmir State as free as in British India ?

(*iii*) Are there any rates of goat tax which vary with the community of the tax payer ?

9. Surely, it is high time for His Highness the Maharajah to intervene and prevent his Government from conducting his administration in a manner which is not in the best interest of his subjects.

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1—(x) On Prime Minister's Statement at the Conference, December 1931.

Round Table Conference—

1. Now that the Prime Minister has made his announcement, what should be the Muslim policy? Muslims have arrived at the following conclusion—

Hindus and Government both play with them and neither side is prepared to do justice to their claims. In a defensive way, Muslims have allied themselves with other minorities.

They are thoroughly disappointed in Gandhi, the Congress, the Liberals, the Government and the Conservatives.

The Muslim course of action is—

(*a*) Self-improvement and self-reliance.

(*b*) To take no initiative in agitation for political reforms, but if other people want provincial autonomy, Muslims will not obstruct the path, provided the safeguards they have at present are continued and adequate safeguards for those which must go are substituted, *i.e.*, some safeguard be substituted for the removal of official block and Governor's powers.

If there is no chance of their obtaining majority in Punjab and Bengal, why should they clamour for provincial autonomy?

In case justice is done to them in the Punjab and Bengal, then a due measure of immunity should be secured for them from interference from the centre.

Representation at the centre should be guaranteed to them.

It is now finally and firmly settled that Muslims are entitled to separate electorates, and it is only they themselves who can give them up when and where they like.

States—

Federation—

Muslims have no love for or antipathy to federation, but they are quite clear on the following points :

(1) In Federation, States should have representation on population basis. That representation should be divided up between States on a basis which appeals to them, subject to the approval of British India, and as they join the Federation, they can avail themselves of it.

(2) *Mode of representation—*

Nomination or election—The same as in the case of British India.

(3) Qualifications or disqualifications for the purpose of representation—The same as in British India.

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2. Points of Muslim Dissatisfaction with Congress and Government, 1931.

The points of importance are—

1. Maulana Shaukat Ali's tour during the last few weeks and his estimate of Muslim public opinion, *viz.*, that Muslims have no longer any respect for Mr. Gandhi, and consider him and the Congress as violently opposed to Muslim aspirations and in no way better than the Hindu Maha Sabha.

2. The general feeling is that His Majesty's Government is demoralised and attaches too much importance to the Congress and too little to Muslims and others, and this impression has a very demoralising effect on all non-Congress Indians.

The Cawnpore Official Report has come as a very rude shock to Muslims, whose deaths amount to at least 75, if not 80, per cent though their population was 25 to 30% only, and now they are being persecuted and arrested in large numbers through Hindu intrigues.

3. The Round Table Conference—Since the Congress is going as a party, no Congressman should be nominated. It is open to the Congress to bring half a dozen or even more. If it does not, Government, by nominating Congressmen, would cast a great slur on others.

4. The Hindu-Muslim question is not settled by Hindus, because they feel that since central responsibility has been assured, why should they agree to anything ? In conformity with their usual policy, they will agitate against any decision that His Majesty's Government may make. If they come to an agreement, then they are deprived of this favourite policy.

5. Muslim dissatisfaction is intense in the matter of recruitment, and now in the matter of retrenchment inasmuch as Government fails to act in accordance with the rules and principles it lays down, chiefly because those who have to act upon them are themselves Hindus, and their English officers either trust them too much, or see no reason why they should worry them.

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3. **Gandhi's tactics against Muslims, 1931.**

The Congress Muslims—

1. Mr. Gandhi has raised a very important question. He is not bound to listen to any community, of which even a single member is in the Congress. Mr. Gandhi has excelled Birkenhead beyond all expectations.
2. The British Parliament can take Gandhi at his own game.
3. Gandhi's challenge to Muslims—Muslim masses are with Congress Muslims.

   Did not Birkenhead say that Indian masses are with the bureaucracy ?

   (*a*) Hindus and Muslims were for separate electorates in 1917, and remained so till 1922.

   (*b*) Since 1922 some Hindus have continued to go back on separate electorates, while Muslims have adhered to them.

   (*c*) The Simon Commission, after a prolonged investigation, held that Muslims were solidly for separate electorates and reported accordingly.

(*d*) All provincial Governments did the same and the Government of India supported them.

(*e*) Does Gandhi question the accuracy of this ? If so, on what data.

4. Gandhi is pushing Muslims very unfairly into the position which was taken up by the Hindus of the Punjab—if the other party is going to have power, we want no reforms.

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Does Gandhi want to deprive Muslims of what they have got under the British administration ?

(1) Muslims have had separate electorates all along.

(2) Even the Prime Minister of the present Labour Government came to the conclusion that Muslims should retain separate electorates, and they could be done away with only at their own discretion.

(3) Does Gandhi want to go behind the Prime Minister's decision ?

(4) If not, does he want to know whether Muslim India stands for separate electorates or joint electorates. If so, can he say whether caste system and untouchability have been given up by the Hindu society in India.

(5) Does he want to revive among Muslims the idea that in self-defence and out of self-respect Muslims should treat all those as untouchables who treat them as untouchables ? Will that help the cause of joint electorates ?

Montgomery Shia Conference—

1. It has adopted the Muslim programme except as to the mode of election.

2. This they have done in the hope that the Congress accept this programme.

3. Will the President and the Secretary of the Conference ask the Working Committee of the Congress to adopt the

programme, and send it to the Round Table Conference as their considered view ?

4. If not, are they not acting foolishly in conceding points in the hope of settlement, while the settlement is not yet in sight ?

5. These are the positions into which the Congress has been, through its intrigues and tactics, pushing Muslims into difficult positions.

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4. Muslim demands with Special Reference to *Separate Electorates* :

(i) Views of Congress Muslims, 1930-5.

(ii) Nationalist Muslims and their politics ; Allahabad Conference, 1933.

(iii) Conclusions of the Allahabad Conference, 1933.

(iv) Dr. Ansari, etc., 1933.

(v) Congress Muslim Efforts with Hindus and Sikhs, 1933.

(vi) Mode of Election, 1933-5.

(vii) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Statement in reply to Iqbal's Statement, 1933-5.

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4—(i) Views of Congress Muslims, 1930-5.

Congress Muslims and their views—

The Congress Muslims can be divided under two heads :

(1) Official Congress Muslims.

They stand for Nehru Report, their leader being Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

(2) Others who fell that the existing weightage in favour of Muslims in the Central Legislature and in the six minority provinces should remain, and also that the representation in the Punjab and Bengal should be on population basis, but that the method of election should be through joint electorates. It is understood that Dr. Ansari, Maulana

Abdul Qadir Kasuri, Zafar Ali Khan, Chaudhri Afzal Haq hold this view.

4—(ii) Nationalist Muslims and their politics; Allahabad Conference, 1933.

Muslim Nationalists and their politics—

Why do they want joint electorates? For the obvious reason that in separate electorates they have very little chance of being returned to reformed Legislatures; and if there are joint electorates, their patrons, the Hindus, will get them elected.

2. Why are Shias of U. P. for joint electorates? Because in separate electorates Muslims have been returning Sunnis, and naturally Shias feel that if there are joint electorates, with Hindu votes they stand a much better chance of being returned.

3. Why do Indian Christians in Upper India support joint electorates? Because the upper ten, the educated and professional classes are converts from Hinduism, and they feel that in separate electorates the rank and file of Christians, most of them from low classes, will elect one of themselves and the chance of these better caste Christians lies in joint electorates wherein Hindu voters may prefer them to others.

Thus it would appear that the nationalism of these three classes is of the nature of enlightened self-interest, more for self than for the nation.

4. *Depressed classes—*

Gandhi's latest circular says the depressed classes should be uplifted, which means they should give up not only carrion eating but also meat eating, and so on. So the movement is not for making the caste Hindu give up his beliefs and customs and prejudices but it is to change the depressed class man. Therefore, according to Gandhi, the fault lies to that extent with the depressed class man and not with the caste man.

(2) Gandhi has made it clear that inter-dining, etc., is not part of the movement. What then is the movement? He tells us that the depressed class people have a right of entry into temples. Now this is curious, because if there are Hindus who believe in a certain conception of God and of man and of worship and of society, to what extent is it right to compel them to give up their conceptions? If a carrion eater is polluted by virtue of his eating carrion, then who can blame those Hindus who will not worship in the same temple in which he worships, and is any one justified in compelling them that they must? To this extent one cannot help sympathising with the orthodox Hindus who want to worship their God in their own way and on their own principle and have no objection to other people worshipping their God in any way they like provided they do it in their own temples.

(3) All such movements, whether they are for reform or the reverse, should be conducted in accordance with law. As the Madras leaders have tried, such reforms should be effected through legislature if legislation is necessary. But if Gandhi wants to carry out religious reform in the way in which he had tried to carry out political reform through direct action, then he will create greater trouble in India through his religious reform than he has done through his political reform.

5. Bombay talks were a great mistake. They really owe their inception to Hindu intrigue which aimed at mobilizing various factions and cliques, firstly to secure Gandhi's release, and secondly to cast aspersions on the Prime Minister's award. The Hindu intriguers found a willing tool in Shaukat Ali. Shaukat Ali's Lucknow conference was a fraud, and though he was forced to pass the resolution which goes by the name of Lucknow Resolution, still he never had any intention of acting on it. The Resolution by itself was bad enough. There was no justification for Shaukat Ali or any body of leaders to reduce Muslim demands from 14 to 13, but even so, the condition precedent to the consideration of the 14th demand, *i.e.*, the mode of election, was the Hindu acceptance of the remaining 13 demands. This they did not do before the Allahabad Conference, nor even at the Allahabad Conference.

The Allahabad Conference, therefore, was not held in pursuance of the Lucknow Resolution, but again was the result of intrigue, and was, so far as Muslims are concerned, attended by no one belonging to the Muslim Conference or the Muslim League Institutions. Punjab and Bengal were altogether unrepresented and two or three Congress Muslims dangled before Abdul Majid Sindhi the Sind separation, and assured him that Sind separation was rejected by Government. The whole thing, therefore, has been the result of intrigue, chicanery, misrepresentation, and even fraud. Muslim India has been watching the perpetration of this fraud from day to day to see the result of it so that they may not pre-judge it. Now that the result is out, Muslim India condemns it unhesitatingly. The impudence of Hindu leaders in offering to reduce Muslim representation in the Punjab, convert separate electorates into joint electorates, and in return recommend 32% representation in Central or Federal Legislatures for Muslims, and separation of Sind, cannot be condemned severely enough. Both these matters are under the consideration of Government. As regards representation in central or federal legislatures, if there is a legislature for British India only, Muslims are bound to get not less than 33%. The case of separation of Sind has been in principle already decided, and the question of finance is under consideration and will in due course be decided on merits. Allahabad Conference deliberations have ended in vindicating the Prime Minister's award. His distribution of seats has practically been supported in full. As to the mode of representation, it is the old difference of opinion between the Congress, including some Muslims, on the one side, and Muslim India on the other. Out of evil cometh good. Allahabad talks have shown two things : One, that the financial aspect of Sind separation presents no insuperable difficulties. (2) That Muslim claim for safeguards in Muslim minority provinces and in the centre is far more reasonable than the Hindu and Sikh claim in the Punjab and Sind. (3) That if Hindu and Sikh safeguards in the Punjab and Sind are adopted in those provinces and in other provinces and at the centre in the interest of Muslims, then the reforms and responsible Government will be a myth and fiction. So the Hindus at the Allahabad Conference have

virtually demonstrated that India is not prepared for any reforms, not even for provincial autonomy. Long live John Bull.

4—(iii) Conclusions of the Allahabad Conference, 1933.

The Allahabad Conference has concluded its work. Its conclusion may be summarised as follows—

(1) Subjects covered by the Prime Minister's award—

(*a*) Punjab—

Reduction of Muslim and Christian representation to increase Sikh representation.

(*b*) Mode of election to be changed from separate electorates to joint electorates of a sort.

(2) Matters other than those covered by the Prime Minister's award—

(*a*) Separation of Sind.

(*b*) Muslim representation in central Legislature which has been fixed at 32.

(*c*) The Punjab Hindus and Sikhs and Sind Hindus have formulated elaborate safeguards of minority protection.

2. The Muslim view as regards these conclusions is as follows :

(1) Reduction of Muslim representation in the Punjab cannot be agreed to. Through separate electorates Muslims get only 86, and of the 10 special constituencies with joint electorates only one is a certainty, *i.e.*, the Tummandars. This gives Muslims 87 seats in a council of 175. In case elections run on communal lines, they are sure to have 2 more, raising their number to 89, and if a Muslim is entrusted with the duties of being President of the Council, this leaves 88 in a Council of 174 which is a bare majority. No one knows whether in the three constituencies formed for labour the preponderance of voters in any constituency will be Muslims or not. Assuming this to be the case,

what does it matter ? They will be the product of joint electorates.

(2) Mode of election—The change is not acceptable, firstly, on principle, Muslim India needs this protection; secondly, the proposal rules out uncontested election and thus makes elections too expensive.

(3) Representation in Central or Federal Legislatures—Muslims are bound to have better representation than this when Government comes to a decision.

(4) Separation of Sind is under consideration and Sind Muslims should obtain it on its merits and not by selling the safeguards of Muslim India.

3. However, out of evil cometh good. The proceedings have shown that there is no objection of principle to the separation of Sind, and that its financial aspect is not an obstacle in the way of separation. The question before Government is whether Muslims should obtain it as a matter of efficient administration of Sind—legitimate right of Sind to self-determination and self-Government and as a result of lawful constitutional agitation for this reform, or whether Muslims should be forced to buy it from the Hindus either by selling their safeguard of separate electorates or by joining the civil disobedience movement. Indian Muslims are averse to do either.

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4—(iv) Dr. Ansari, etc., 1933.

I. *A Study of European Conditions—*

It is a comment on Theodore Morrison's article in the *June Contemporary Review*—worth reproducing and commenting upon.

II. *Dr. Ansari's Faridpur proposals—What were they* ?

(*a*) As regards Services, Muslim share in the Cabinet and declaration of fundamental rights—He repeated the conclusions at which the Round Table Conference had arrived on Muslim demands.

(*b*) As regards Sind, N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan, and residuary powers vesting in federating units and the Central Legislature having one-third Muslim element, he repeated Conference demands.

(*c*) Muslim share in local Legislatures—His proposals were not definite and appeared to mean :

(*i*) As regards 6 provinces, some sort of weightage.

(*ii*) As regards Punjab and Bengal, an assurance of an over-all majority.

(*iii*) As to mode of election—joint electorates.

(*d*) Apparently, Dr. Ansari's proposals have not been acceptable to the Working Committee of the Congress which has not considered them even worthy of reference, but has, instead appointed a Sub Committee of which Dr. Ansari is a member. This is very regrettable, and Muslim India should offer its sympathy to Dr. Ansari in his sad predicament.

(*e*) In case this Committee does not accept Dr. Ansari's proposals, is he prepared to withdraw from the Congress as better men than Dr. Ansari, like Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Maulvi Shafee Daoodi, Haji Abdullah Haroon and a host of others, have already withdrawn.

III. The Punjab Congress Muslims have recently held a provincial gathering at Lahore wherein tried Congress Muslims like Afzal Haq, Maulana Habibur Rahman and others have felt compelled to raise their voice against the Congress tactics and have urged that under the existing conditions separate electorates are inevitable and the Maha Sabha working through the Congress and Liberals should not be allowed to defeat Muslim demands for having a preponderating voice in the administration of the Punjab and Bengal.

IV. *The Punjab Minorities Conference*—

There are four or five minorities in the Punjab:

(1) Europeans, nearly one per cent. They want separate electorates.

(2) Indian Christians, nearly one per cent. Their leaders seem to be under the Congress influence, and some times want separate electorates; at some times, they want reserved seats to joint electorates, and at other times not even reservation.

(3) Sikhs, 12 or 13 per cent. They are, as a matter of fact, in no way, different from Hindus, socially, politically or legally; but for the British Army to whom the Sikh religion owes a heavy debt of gratitude, Sikhism would have been, like Budhism, swallowed up by Hindus.

(4) Hindus, nearly 20%.

Depressed classes threat. Such of the minorities as swear by joint electorates should join hands and have joint constituencies for themselves without ear-marked seats and set an example to their neighbours, the Muslims. If the experiment succeeds, Muslims will follow suit.

In the alternative, why not let the Hindus have separate electorates on the basis of their population, and let the rest—Indian Christians, Sikhs, depressed classes if they so desired—all have joint electorates with Muslims, and show by example that what they are really after is evolution of a nation and not machiavellian devices to do the Muslims out of their majority rights in the Punjab.

V. Setalvad's statement to the press regretted Hindus' greed at the last Round Table Conference which prevented a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

Terms offered—

(1) Muslims to retain their weightage in six minority provinces.

(2) Muslims to have majorities in Bengal and the Punjab.

(3) One-third Muslim representation at the Central Legislature.

(4) (1) to (3) above through joint electorates.

(5) As a compromise, to arrange that a certain percentage of seats in (1) to (3) above be through joint electorates and the

proportion to increase progressively but not subject to the votes or views of the Muslims.

This is just a bit unfair inasmuch as Muslims have separate electorates under the Statute, and under various pronouncements they have been given the right to retain or surrender them. Therefore, now to bring pressure to bear on them to part with that right does not seem to be either fair or equitable.

VI. *The Indian Daily Mail* in its leader of the 27th June, under the caption, "A Call to the Majority", calls upon the Hindu community to rise to the occasion. That call seems to be a call in the wilderness.

Maulana Shaukat Ali's statement to the press about the 20th June—The Congress trying to create trouble amongst Muslims by machiavellian devices—proclaiming groups fighting each other—most condemnable.

VII. End of talks between the Muslim Conference and the Muslim Congress men—When the machiavellian efforts of the Congress Muslims failed to deceive the Conference Muslims, they attributed the failure to what were called sinister influences in Simla, and various Hindu papers made covet allusions and some, open suggestions to the influences behind the scene. This was long ago—end of June. A fortnight has passed since then, and during the last week, Bombay presented a most salutary atmosphere. Why is it that peace talks have not resulted in a settlement ? It is because the Congress is not in earnest and is not genuine, and its only object is to bluff. That cannot possibly lead to success.

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4—(v) Congress Muslims' Efforts with Hindus and Sikhs, 1933.

It is worthwhile to do two things—

To bring out the attempts made by the Congress Muslims to persuade Hindus and Sikhs to act in a fair and just manner with the Muslims. How far have these efforts succeeded.

(1) In the matters covered by His Majesty's Government's decision of August last—

(*a*) Quantity of representation—

Representation in minority provinces, no improvement. In fact it is less than under the Government decision.

In the Punjab and Sind, less.

In Bengal, no improvement.

On the other hand, the imposition of conditions in the case of the Punjab, Sind and Bengal is certainly striking at the very root of reforms and provincial autonomy. It is strange that the Congress Muslims have not urged why the safeguards which the Hindus want in Sind, and the Sikhs and the Hindus want in the Punjab, should not be provided for Muslims at the centre.

(*b*) Mode of representation—

No decision has yet been reached and it is hoped that the separate electorates will not be interfered with.

As to the period, it is limited to 10 years in the old Allahabad proposal, but the very strongest possible feeling exists that the period of 10 years is only experimental and that the decision on the expiry of 10 years will rest with the Muslims themselves to be exercised through their accredited representatives in Legislatures, subject to confirmation after general election. Nothing short of this can give a sense of security.

(2) Matters not covered by the Prime Minister's award—

(*a*) Federal Legislatures, 33% should be adhered to.

(2) Sind; unconditional Separation.

(3) Residuary powers to vest in provinces.

(4) Boundaries of provinces with preponderating Muslim population not alterable by Federal Legislature or Federal Government.

Similarly, the constitution of Federal and local Legislatures not liable to alteration so far as the Muslim propor-

tion is concerned, and that in the case of Bengal, on reduction of European and Christian weightage, Muslim proportion to be raised to majority status.

Bengal—

Under His Majesty's Government's decision, Muslims have got 47.6 (including women) seats by separate representation, and they are believed to get 2 seats out of the 6 special labour constituency, thus raising their percentage to 48.4. It is understood that the Allahabad Conference is agreeable to raise this percentage by 2% through earmarking 2 more labour seats for Muslims, 1 landlord, 1 University, 1 Chamber of Commerce seat, the total number of additional seats being 5, or 2%, raising the percentage from 48.4 to 50.4. This can be done if in these 5 constituencies the number of Muslim voters is larger than that of non-Muslims; and if that is impossible, then by reserving these seats for Muslims.

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4—(vi) Mode of Election, 1933-5.

1. *Mode of election*—

Its determination should remain in the hands of the Muslims—

This has been conceded by the Simon Commission, Local Governments and the Government of India and also by the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference.

2. That in view of the stage reached by India in its political evolution, and in view of all the circumstances in existence at the moment, Indian Muslims do not desire to effect any change in their mode of representation. They are, however. prepared that, under the Reforms, a provision be made to enable the Muslim members of each Legislature to change the method of representation, if their constituencies so desire. The proviso, therefore, be to this effect—

(*a*) Provided that it is open to the Muslim members of any Legislature in a special meeting called for this purpose to decide by a majority of three-fourths of Muslim members in favour of joint electorates; and when this decision is

confirmed by the Muslim members of the next Legislative Council by a majority of three-fourths, future elections to that Legislature shall be held in pursuance of that Resolution.

(*b*) It is considered necessary to have confirmation by the second Legislative Council, because once in a way with the object of entering into a Cabinet or for some other reason, Muslim members of a particular Council may be ready to alter the mode of election for the future; and the necessity for confirmation will bring the whole matter before the Muslim electorate, and the members elected to the next Council will be in a position to represent the mind of the Muslim electorate.

4—(vii) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Statement in reply to Iqbal's Statement, 1933-5.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in reply to Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's statement is clear, cogent and important.

During the period 1917 to 1926, the Indian National Congress accepted separate electorates for Muslims in the scheme of reforms leading to the establishment of representative and responsible Government in the provinces of India and at the centre. This agreement was actually accepted by the British Government and it now constitutes a part of the present constitution. Since 1923, the Hindus have been attacking separate electorates for Muslims, and this controversy has led to a great deal of bitterness and estrangement. Various suggestions have been made for solving it. Mr. Gandhi's suggestion was that if *all* the Muslims agreed that they should have separate electorates, he would accept them. He further pointed out that the Nationalist Muslims did not want separate electorates, and, therefore, he and the Congress cannot recognise them. Others suggested that the matter be left to an arbitrator, and at London there was more or less an agreement that as the two communities cannot agree on the subject, the matter had better be

left to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government took these gentlemen at their words and gave their decision, continuing the separate electorates which are a feature of the existing constitution and which came into the constitution at the joint request of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. Since then, the Hindu press and some Hindu leaders have been violently attacking this institution, and one did not know how to solve the problem. Pandit Jawaharlal's latest contribution to the controversy is—let the Muslims themselves make up their minds. To be precise, he says when there are legislatures elected on the basis of adult franchise, by separate electorate *they will be truly representative* of the Muslim community, and any decision *arrived at, presumably*, by a majority, will be treated as a decision of the Muslim community, and he will be prepared to accept it as such and the controversy will be treated as closed.

This is a fair and just position to take. What is, however, to happen pending the creation of legislatures elected on adult franchise basis? Is there any one in India who knows something about the Muslim mind and Muslim politics who doubts that to-day the Muslim masses and the Muslim intelligentsia and the Muslim politicians are, if not entirely, almost entirely, and certainly by a very, very large majority indeed, in favour of separate electorates? Therefore, the position really amounts to this—Let both Hindus and Muslims close the controversy on the clear understanding that as soon as legislatures in the country are constituted, on the basis of adult franchise, the matter will be re-opened and decided in accordance with the vote of the Muslim representatives elected through separate electorates. If this is done, way will have been paved for co-operation between the two communities for honest political work in the interest of the country. Will Hindus listen to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's advice and not stand in the way of their country's political development?

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5. Muslim Representation in Provincial and Central Legislatures—

(i) 1930

(ii) 1931-2 (Bengal Muslims)

(iii) 1931 (Franchise for Muslims)
(iv) 1931 (Communal Problem)
(v) 14 June 1932 (Muslim Representation in Provinces)
(vi) 1932 (Muslim Representation in Provincial Councils)
(vii) 1932 (Muslim Representation in Central Legislature)
(viii) 5 November 1932 (Muslim Representation in Federal Legislature)
(ix) 1932 (Allahabad Unity Conference)
(x) 1933 (Muslim Representation in Upper Federal Chamber)
(xi) 1933 („ „)
(xii) 1933 (Bengal Legislature)
(xiii) 10 July 1934 (Muslim Representation in Central Legislature and Muslim Solidarity)

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5—(i) Communal Problem, 1930

The Communal Problem—

There has been some confusion as to the factors to be taken into consideration in dealing with the communal problem. An unnecessary controversy with a certain amount of bitterness attendant upon it tends to disturb the atmosphere which is already surcharged with currents of hostility and ill-will. What is the communal problem ? There are many items included in it, but one of the most important parts of it is the question of the representation of Muslims in the Legislatures of India. As regards this part of the problem, what do the Muslims want ? What is the position of the Congress and of other schools of thought in India ?

Indian Muslims urge that under the Government of India Act, 1919, when the country was set on the road to representative and responsible Self-Government, Indian Muslims through the All India Muslim League and the Hindus through the Indian National Congress had arrived at a settlement of this vexed problem. In the main, that settlement continues, and that in one or two points the understanding between the two institutions was to revise the settlement in that respect. What was the settlement ? It was the fixing of a certain percentage for Muslims in the Legislature. The words

used were such and such a percentage of elected members, but in the proceedings the word "Indian" also appears, *i.e.*, elected *Indian* members. These percentages were fixed for all provinces excepting Assam, and in the actual constitution of the Legislatures those percentages were acted upon but not in their entirety and not in the same way in all the provinces. That, however, is a matter of detail. Indian Muslims urge that, in the main, that settlement continues *till* it is replaced by another one, and that in the case of Bengal a definite statement was made in more meetings than one that the low percentage is due to the fact that Muslim politicians in Bengal at that time were not to be found in such large numbers as to take a higher percentage to which they were entitled. Mr. Jinnah has more than once mentioned this incident and no one from the Congress fold has denied it.

The Simon Commission, after prolonged investigation, arrived at the conclusion that these percentages should, in the main, be adhered to, and the Government of India despatch endorsed that recommendation. The All-India Muslim Conference has urged the same. Therefore, what Indian Muslims want His Majesty's Government to do is to give Muslims in the reformed Legislature that representation which was agreed upon between Hindus and Muslims, the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, and, in the case of Bengal, to revise the percentage for the following reasons—

(1) During the last 12 years or so, Muslims have made considerable advance in political life in Bengal. In fact, the provincial Legislature has functioned because of the Muslim co-operation to make the Legislature a success.

(2) Because they have not only co-operated with Government but they have readily co-operated with other communities of the province, for instance, Europeans and the stable elements of the Hindu society.

(3) Because instead of the amity and good-will which prevailed when the Lucknow Pact was arrived at, unfortunately a stage has been reached wherein struggle and strife have taken

the place of peace and concord. Under the circumstances, it is essential that Muslims should have, in Bengal, as in the Punjab, their rightful share.

A great deal of fuss has been made about giving statutory majorities to Muslims in the Punjab and in Bengal. Indian Muslims have never claimed statutory majorities in these provinces. Take the case of the Punjab. Under the Lucknow Pact, Muslims should have 50% of the elected seats. This leaves them to improve this percentage by securing seats from special constituencies, and they are in a position to do so. Where does the statutory majority come in? Similarly in Bengal. Give them 50% of the seats and let them improve their position through special electorates. There is no statutory majority about it, and it serves no useful purpose to try to create confusion and to make out that Muslims are entering into any intrigue so as to get His Majesty's Government to give them an undue advantage over other community. Indian Muslims want no more than what the Indian National Congress itself had agreed before 1919 to give them. They are quite content to have that. Only in the case of Bengal, they claim that the percentage should be revised in accordance with the undertaking given by the Indian National Congress leaders at the time. The claim is perfectly simple and perfectly just. How do the Congress and the Hindus meet it?

They want the mode of representation to be altered. They themselves had agreed that Muslims should have separate representation. How can they now expect His Majesty's Government to alter the mode of representation unless it be with the agreement with the Muslims? It is clear that that agreement is not forthcoming.

As to percentages, in the minority provinces of Madras, Bombay, U. P., Bihar & Orissa, C. P., they have not a leg to stand upon. The Muslim claim is obvious. As to the Punjab, they simply confuse the issue. As to Bengal, they dare not deny that the percentage was fixed at 40 because there was lack of political material among the Muslim community and not for any other reason. It seems such a pity that instead of facing the problem in a spirit of amity and good-will and honesty, a recourse has been had to con-

fusing the issues, misrepresentation, and thereby creating confusion in the hope that the just claims of Muslims will not be understood and appreciated, and that in the general confusion the Muslim cause may suffer.

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5—(ii) Bengal Legislature, 1931-2.

Bengal Legislature—

Responsible Muslim leaders, after very considerable deliberation, have, for some time past, pursued a definite policy—the policy of co-operation with Government, helping Government as far as possible, setting themselves against all movements connected with non-co-operation or civil disobedience movement and of entering into an alliance with such elements of Indian political thought as hold the same programme as theirs. In pursuance of this policy, they have been in active alliance with Europeans in India. Whether it is the Europeans with rural interests in the Punjab, or whether it is the commercial Europeans in Bengal, the Indian Muslims have been in active alliance with them, have received considerable support from them and have tried to reciprocate in the same spirit. The result, so far, has been, on the whole, satisfactory to both sides.

2. In the case of the Bengal Legislature, Europeans in India have accepted the Muslim programme of a Muslim majority in the Bengal Legislature, and this was publicly announced in the shape of the Minorities Pact in London, under which Europeans agreed that Muslims should have 51% in the Legislature, while they should have 10 and Anglo-Indians 1.5 and Indian Christians 1. This was made possible because the depressed classes had agreed to surrender some of their share, but the caste Hindus were no party to this transaction. If the Minorities Pact is not to stand, then the question is—should the Muhammedans have a majority or not? The Muhammedans cannot have a majority if the share of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians is to exceed 10% of the Legislature. The Muslim view is that the Europeans should have 9%, *i.e.*, 22 seats including a woman; Anglo-Indians should have 2 and Indian Christians 1—25 in all.

"One of our number desires that the attitude of the Bengal Moslems in this regard should be placed before the Secretary of State. They consider that to arrive at conclusions affecting important points of the constitution so far as it relates to the future Government of Bengal without deciding the outstanding communal questions would be proceeding from the wrong end and will entirely antagonise Moslem feelings. Bengal Moslems are likely to refuse to take any part in further deliberations if the conclusion of this question is again postponed. Before they are likely to consider any problems touching future constitution of the province, they would insist on the solution of this question. Their essential demand as has been stressed by the Bengal Moslem delegates in London, as well as announced in the Press the other day, is that there should be separate electorates for Moslems with representation on the basis of their population. If no agreement on this question is reached by the communities themselves before the arrival of the British delegates, one of our number desires that in that event, British delegation should be in a position to announce a decision of His Majesty's Government on these points."

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5—(iii) Franchise for Muslims, 1931

Franchise—

(1) Extension of franchise—The principle of extending franchise in provinces is sound, but a proper distribution of voting power between different sections of the people, though aimed at, has not been achieved.

(2) It was desired by the Simon Commission as well as by the Round Table Conference that voting registers in provinces should reflect the Muslim population as compared with the voting registers of other communities. The Franchise Committee's achievement is that the divergence which existed before has been further accentuated because—

(*i*) Wives of men who possess the property qualification prescribed for the present provincial Councils have been enfranchised.

(*ii*) Specially reduced qualifications have been prescribed for depressed classes and thereby their voting strength increased. This is obviously unjust and unfair.

(3) Women's franchise—

There should be no disqualification attaching to women, but there should be no special qualification created for women. The proposal that the wife of a man who possesses the property qualification at present should also be given a vote means that the principle of plurality of votes is introduced. This should be condemned. In view of the extension of franchise, no special qualification need be introduced.

The so-called educational qualification is illusory and impracticable.

The extensipn of franchise is welcomed and should be adopted to the extent to which a Local Government is able to work elections.

Representation—

(1) Reservation for women during the first ten years of 2 to 5% of seats in the provincial Councils—In view of the large extension of franchise, this is unnecessary. Moreover, it is impracticable.

(2) Representation of Labour—

In view of the extension of franchise, there is no occasion to make special arrangements for representation of labour.

While rejecting special representation of agricultural labour, representation of industrial labour is not called for.

In no case should more than one member, to represent the particular point of view of industrial sections, be provided for in a provincial Legislature.

(3) Special constituencies—

It is recommended that the existing constituencies should continue. In view of the large extension of franchise, it is altogether un-necessary, and in no case should special interests have more than 5% representation in a provincial legislature.

The expression Minor Minority is used for Christian representation which is sub-divided racially—European, Anglo-Indian, Indian Christians.

Muslim representation—

In the minority provinces, *i.e.*, U. P. Bombay, Bihar & Orissa, Assam, Madras, C. P.—

(1) Existing weightage should be allowed in the whole Council.

(2) Punjab and Bengal—Muslim constituencies should be in the majority and should preponderate.

Note—In the case of the Frontier Province, Muslims have already given weightage to non-Muslims and are prepared that it should be continued in the new constitution.

Indian Muslims are patiently waiting to see to what extent His Majesty's Government is prepared to do justice to them. Sind's claim for separation is again to be pressed.

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5—(iv) Communal Problem, 1931.

1. *The Communal Problem—*

It comprises many items, but the foundation stone of all is the mode and extent of Muslim representation in provincial and Central Legislatures. A decision on this is absolutely essential to Muslims so that they may form and give opinions on important constitutional questions under consideration. This matter, therefore, should be settled at once and the material for its settlement is already available. The decision on other matters should be given as consideration of the problems with which they are connected comes up for decision from time to time.

2. *The Conference programme—*

In view of the efforts made to sow the seed of discord among Muslims, it is essential to take steps to safeguard the solidarity of Muslim public opinion in India, and, besides the three distinctive steps specified in the Resolution to organize the community, it is essential that during the next three months Muslim effort be co-ordinated and Muslim objective in the immediate future be clearly specified.

The immediate objective is to secure a settlement as to the mode and extent of Muslim representation in provincial and Central Legislatures of India by agreement, and since that has failed, by His Majesty's Government.

As to what the decision will be and what the Muslims should do in case it is not satisfactory are things which will have to be dealt with honestly and fearlessly when the occasion arises, and it is inadvisable to raise the discussion now and, perhaps, split the Muslim public into different schools of thought. On the other hand, organizing the community in the mean time should go far to enable the community to stand united in dealing with the decision when given.

No further action on the part of the Working Committee in the matter of preparing a programme of direct action at present need be undertaken.

It is of the utmost importance that the efforts of all who have given their time and energy to the promotion of Muslim interests, whether at the Round Table Conference or outside it, should be duly appreciated and no slur whatsoever cast for possible errors of judgment which are inherent in human effort.

5—(v) Muslim Representation in Provinces, 14 June 1932.

Yesterday, at the Executive Council meeting, when the draft telegram was being discussed, I stated that the figures allowed for Muslims in different provinces might need revision in case it was found that, in Bengal, Muslims could not have a majority. His

Excellency was pleased to observe that the matter might be taken up after the Bengal Legislature's constitution was settled. As soon as the Bengal Legislature's constitution was settled, the succeeding part of the draft dealing with the difficult question of the mode of representation of depressed classes was taken up and barely finished by 8 o'clock when the Council rose. Thus the question I had raised was not taken up. This morning when going through the papers I noticed this omission and am, therefore, writing this note.

2. In the Muslim programme, a very great deal of importance has all along been attached to a Muslim majority being secured in Bengal, and if our decision holds good and Muslims in consequence do not get a majority in the Bengal Legislature, every effort will be made by Nationalist Muslims and the Congress to set them against Government, to ridicule them, and the Muslims themselves will feel very sore about it. Efforts will be made to make the question an all-India Muslim problem and not a Bengal problem. Other provinces will tend to join the agitation. It seems to me, therefore, that it is for consideration whether in the case of Madras, C. P., Bihar & Orissa and U. P. we should not revise the representation of Muslims so that when the announcement as a whole is being considered, none of the provinces may be in a position to say that it has any grievance whatsoever in the matter.

(1) *Madras*—

In Madras, we have given 28 on the basis of 13.2. The Lucknow Pact percentage is 15 of Indian elected seats, under which Muhammadans get 31; minor minorities of Europeans and Anglo-Indians have only 8, and including Indian Christians 17, *i.e.*, 45 in all in a House of 215. It is clear that 6 labour seats and 4 women seats in all probability will be Hindus, and in none of them is likely to be a Muhammadan, or an European or an Anglo-Indian. Therefore, the addition of 3 to Muslim representation will still leave the Hindu majority at 167 in a House of 215. This addition is, I think, very necessary because the final announcement will be subjected to a searching examination, and there will be a great deal of force in the criticism that in Madras we have reduced 15% to 13% in the case of

Muslims who have a population of 7%; while in the case of the Frontier Province, in the case of Hindus and Sikhs with an 8% population we have left the representation at over 22%. Therefore, it is obviously unfair to the Muslims, and I would strongly urge this revision.

(2) *C. P.*

We have allowed 14 seats at 12.7% against the 15% of the Lucknow Pact. Under the Lucknow Pact, in a House of 112, Muhammadans are entitled to 16, and I would add 2 more seats. If we were to allow 14% on the whole House, *still they would be* entitled to 16 seats. In view of the Frontier percentage and the fact that 4.40 is extremely low, I do not think it is worth while to cut down Muslims by 2 seats. Again, in C. P., Europeans and Anglo-Indians have only 3 seats at the most, and if Muhammadans had 16, that would make 19 in all in a House of 112, leaving 93 Hindus. That certainly would not hurt anybody.

(3) *Bihar & Orissa*—

Bihar & Orissa were in Lucknow Pact specially given a very high weightage of 25. We have allowed a weightage of 23.6. Inasmuch as neither in landlords, nor in commerce and industry, labour and women, Muhammadans stand any chance of getting a seat, I would add *one* more to their number and make them 42.

(4) *U. P.*

The local Government had recommended 67, including women, on 30% basis. We have cut it down by one or 29.2 basis. It does not seem to be worth while and I would restore that one.

3. If my suggestions mentioned above are adopted, His Majesty's Government's announcement will be open to criticism from the Muhammedan point of view on only one very important matter, and that is the Muslim majority in Bengal, and it will be unexceptionable to all reasonable Muhammadans in other respects though extremist Muslims will still cavil, in the case of the Punjab and elsewhere, for a seat here and there. The loss of a Muslim

majority in Bengal is a very important point, and I want to use all these palliatives so as to keep Muslim politics in India undisturbed.

4. In case the constitution of the Bengal Legislature remains as we decided upon last night, I strongly urge the acceptance of suggestions made above.

5—(vi) Muslim Representation in Provincial Councils, 1932.

Bombay—

When Sind is taken away from Bombay, in population it will be less by 39 lakhs, and it is for consideration whether the size of the Legislature should remain the same. I incline to the view that the size be reduced from 200 to 150. The Muslim percentage will be 8.8. The question is what weightage should be allowed to 8.8% Muslims in Bombay. Luckily, the matter is not a difficult one to decide inasmuch as in the Frontier Province Hindus and Sikhs are just 8%, and, therefore, the case is a parallel one, and the Muhammadans in Bombay should have the same weightage as the Hindus and Sikhs have in the Frontier Province, *i.e.*, 22.

Now as to the details of Bombay minus Sind—

Special Interests—

Landlords	...	2	(because Sind landlords had 1) instead of 3
University	...	1	
Commerce & Industry	...	7	instead of 8, because Karachi will be separated.

As regards new special constituencies—

Labour	...	7	instead of 8
Women	...	3	instead of 4
Europeans	...	3	
Anglo-Indians	...	2	
Ind. Christians	...	2	

Muhammedans 22% for Legislature, which means 33 in the Legislature of 150.

Madras—

Size of the Legislature as recommended by Franchise Committee —215.

Special Constituencies—

Landholders	...	6	
University	...	1	
Commerce & Industry	...	6	of which, in all probability, 4 (including 1 for Planters) Europeans and 2 Indians are bound to remain.

They are 13—

Europeans	...	4
Hindus	...	9

The Franchise Committee would add 6 for Labour, while Government would add only 2, at present there being none.

Backward tracts are at present represented by 1 by nomination, and Depressed Classes by 10 by nomination.

If the Franchise Committee's figure for size, 215, is taken, then 13 Special Interest seats will have to be deducted, and some for Labour, between 2 and 6, and some for women, a minimum of 4.

Coming to minor minorities—

Europeans and Anglo-Indians, in view of their population—.02 and .05—cannot have any seat, but a minimum of 1 should be given.

As regards Indian Christians, their population is 3.7 and communal seats 5.3. Assuming the strength of the Legislature to be 215, they will get 10 seats.

Muslims, with a population of 6.7 and representation of 13.7, will get 27 seats. There is no chance of Muslims getting any seat in any of the special interests, or labour or women; so, their total representation in a House of 215 will be 27; while Indian Christians

will be 10; Anglo-Indians 1, and Europeans 5; *i.e.*, 43 in all in a House of 215. Whether Depressed Classes obtain 10%, *i.e.*, 19; or 15%, *i.e.*, 28; in any case, the Hindu majority remains a substantial one. In a House of 200 under Minorities Pact, Muslims were given 30, Christians 14, Anglo-Indians 4, Tribal areas 2 and Europeans 8, while Depressed Classes were given 40 —a heavy weightage all round at the expense of Hindus. So the final conclusions are—

Landholders ...	6	
University ...	1	
Commerce & Industry ...	6	as heretofore.
Labour ...	between 2 and 6.	My own view is that only 2 need be given as these are for industrial labour only, which at present is not separately represented at all.
Aborigines & Hill Tribes ...	2	

Minor minorities—

Europeans & Anglo-Indians...	1	each.
Indian Christians ...	10	
Muslims ...	27	

Bombay—

Size of the Legislature as recommended by Franchise Committee —200

Special interests are—

Landholders ...	3	
University ...	1	
Commerce & Industry ...	8	probably divided as follows : Europeans ... 4; Indians ... 3; Cotton ... 1
	12 in all.	

Industrial labour at present 3; recommended by Franchise Committee—8.

Women at 2%	...	4

As regards minor minorities, the present figure of

Europeans	...	3
Anglo-Indians	...	1

will have to be continued, and Indian Christians might be raised from 1 to 2, while tribal and aborigines should get 1.

As regards Muslims, they had 34.2 of the communal seats. They will have to be 34 plus 27, equal to 61 in all. They may get one seat out of special interest seats. So, the final composition will stand something like this :

Europeans 4 plus 3	...	7
Anglo-Indians	...	1
Indian Christians might be raised to 2 from 1	...	2
Muhammedans	...	64
		74 in all, in a House of 200.

Bengal—

Size of the Legislature as recommended by Franchise Committee —250.

I should have preferred 275 in view of the very heavy special interests item.

Special interests—

Landholders	...	5		
University	...	2		
Commerce & Industry	...	15 subdivided into		
		Europeans	...	11
		Indians	...	4
		22 in all.		

As regards Labour, at present	...	2	Franchise Committee recommended 8.
Women	...	5	in a House of 250 or so at 2%

Coming to minor minorities—

Indian Christians	...	1
Anglo-Indians	...	2
Europeans	...	5

Anglo-Indians and Europeans are very much over-represented, and in view of 11 Europeans coming from special interests, it does not seem right to raise minorities of .06 and .05 to the position of such high representation.

As regards Indian Christians, they might continue to have 1.

It is here that the question of special interests and other interests becomes acute. In a House of 250, I will retain the existing special interests 22 in all. Deducting this from 250, we are left with 228, out of which I will let Muslims have 55%, which comes to 125. Out of the 22 special interests, they may or may not get a seat wherewith to raise themselves to the position of a mojority.

As regards the remaining 103 seats, I would give

Anglo-Indians	...	2
Indian Christians	...	1
Europeans	...	2
Hindus	...	98

In the whole House, Hindus will have

	5
	2
	4
	11
plus	98
	109

Europeans and Anglo-Indians will have ... 11

2

2

1 of Indian Christians

16 in all.

Hindus thus will have between 43 and 44% of the whole House.

What about Labour and Women? One solution *is that* as regards women, Muhammedans will be made to find 2 places for them, and Hindus to find 3 places for them, thus satisfying 2% condition.

As regards labour, the matter is not more difficult.

Assuming a House of 275 (and the existing 22 special interests and 8 labour interests), we make a deduction of 30, thus leaving 245, out of which Muhammedans are to have 55%, which means 137 seats, leaving it to them to improve their position by securing something out of the 30 special interests.

Again, as to minor minorities, out of the remaining 108,

2 to Anglo-Indians

1 to Indian Christians

5 to Europeans as at present

8

leaving 100 for Hindus who, besides these 100, will have 11 from special constituencies and at least 7 out of Urban labour seats: in all 118, which is 43% of the total House reflecting the population.

Women, again, to be left to each community.

United Provinces—

Size of the Legislature 225 as recommended by Franchise Committee.

Special interests—

Landholders	... 6
University	... 1
Commerce & Industry	... 3
	10 in all.

Labour—

Franchise Committee suggest	3
Government suggest	2

Women— 4 at 2%

Minor minorities—

Europeans	... 2
Anglo-Indians ...	1
Indian Christians	1

It would be best to let Muhammedans retain 31 2 representation out of 225, minus 10 or, let them have 67 seats In the whole House. Europeans and Anglo-Indians will not come on for more than 4 or 5. So, in a House of 225, they will be 70 in all belonging to minorities, and depressed class representation, therefore, will not, in any way, prejudice the Hindu majority.

Punjab—

Size of the Legislature as recommended by Franchise Committee —175.

Special interests are,—

Landholders	... 5	(Franchise Committee have omitted 1, and put down only 4).
University	... 1	
Commerce & Industry	2	(Local Govt. suggest only 1).
	8	

As regards labour, the Local Govt. do not want more than 1, while the Franchise Committee 1 to 3. I strongly urge that labour should be only 1, because, firstly, it is only industrial labour that is being separately provided for; secondly, the lowering of the franchise is enough; and, thirdly, representation of view-point rather than quantity of representation is the object in view.

Let us assume then that the figures retained are :

Landholders	...	5
University	...	1
Commerce	...	1
Labour	...	3
		10 in all.

Assuming the Franchise Committee's recommendation as to 3 for labour is accepted, this will mean 10 special interests. Deducting this from 175, we are left with 165, out of which we must give Indian Christians 2 and Europeans and Anglo-Indians 2, leaving 161 to be divided up between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

Then we take 19% of 161 for Sikhs, which gives them 30, leaving 131 to be distributed between Hindus and Muslims, which would give Hindus 44, Muhammedans 87.

Thus, the final forecast of the House will be—

Sikhs	...	...	... 30 plus 1 of landholders, plus 1 of labour ... 32 in all.
Hindus	...	...	... 44, plus 1 of landholders, 1 of University, 1 of Commerce and one of labour ... 48 in all.
Muhammedans...		...	... 87 plus 3 of landholders, plus 1 of labour ... 91 in all.
Europeans & Anglo-Indians		...	2
Indian Christians		...	... 2
			175 in all.

This gives 91 Muslims against 84 others—a majority of 7. In view of the extreme uncertainty of the labour seat, 90 and 85 would be a fairer representation. Perhaps, one could modify this by giving Sikhs 31 instead of 30, and reducing Muslims from 87 to 86. This would give Sikhs 19% in the whole House, and would give Muhammedans possibly 90, but certainly 89. The percentages are as follows :

At 20%	...	35
At 19%	...	33.25
At 28%	...	49
At 51%	...	89.25
At 52%	...	91

Bihar & Orissa—

Size of the Legislature as recommended by Franchise Committee —175.

Special interests—

Landholders	...	5	
University	...	1	
Planting & Mining	...	3	(probably 2 for Europeans and 1 for Indians.)
Europeans should have		1	
Anglo-Indians	...	1	
Indian Christians	...	1	
Aborigines	...	2	

The Muslim representation is 25.3.

The Franchise Committee recommeded 4 for labour.

Muhammedans do not stand any chance from any of the special interests, and Muhammedans at 25% of 162 will get 41. This will not, in any way, interfere with the considerable Hindu majority.

Central Provinces—

Size of the Legislature as recommended by Franchise Committee —105.

Special interests—

Landholders	...	3
University	...	1
Commerce & Industry	...	2

The Franchise Committee recommend 2 for labour.

Assuming 2 for women, Anglo-Indians will continue *their* 1, and 1 for excluded area, and 1 for Europeans.

Muhammedans are given 13.2. Assuming the exclusion of the landholders, University and Commerce & Industry 6 seats, 13.2% of 99 will probably give 13 seats to Muslims.

Muslims—13: Europeans—1; Anglo-Indians—1; Excluded Areas—1; Hindus—89

Assam—

Size of the Legislature as recommended by Franchise Committee —100.

Planting & Commerce 6. The Franchise Committee suggest 4 for labour, and 1 or 2 for Aborigines and hill tribes. Muhammedans were given 36.3. Excluding 6 from 100, 36.3 of 94 would give them 35 seats.

The Frontier Province—

To be dealt with separately.

5—(vii) Muslim Representation in Central Legislature, 1932.

1. The Muslim view is that if Muslim States go contrary to the Muslim Conference view-point as to the matter of Muslim representation in local and central Legislatures by, directly or indirectly, encouraging a contrary view, then there is no reason why British Indian Muslims should not support the view that the representatives

of the States in the Federal Legislatures should be elected and not nominated.

2. The Muslim Conference view seems to be that they have no quarrel with federation as such, but the condition precedent of their agreeing to it and, for the matter of that, to responsibility at the centre or to substantial advance in the provinces is their adequate representation in local and Central Legislatures in accordance with the method acceptable to them.

3. If British Indian Muslims find that Indian States and, in particular, the Muslim Indian States are, in the matter of mode of election or amount of representation, directly or indirectly, opposing their view point, they would naturally insist upon the method of State representation being election and support those who wish to safeguard the just interests of the State subjects.

4. As to the amount of Muslim representation in the Central Legislature, there is no harm in claiming one-third in the whole, but when it came to a settlement one-third in the Biritish Indian share might be considered acceptable; and as to the share of States, population basis which does not give them one-third but much less.

5—(viii) Muslim Representation in Federal Legislature, 5 November 1932.

Muslim Representation on the Federal Legislature—Telegrams of 22nd July 1932, and 6th Oct., 1932.

The Government of India have not formulated positive views on allocation of seats to communities, and before the subject is taken up for consideration, I should like to put on record certain points bearing on the subject.

The Muslim claim is of one-third representation on each of the Federal Legislatures. Indian States are said to have declared their inability to take into consideration the communal colouring of a State (whether of the Ruler or of the subjects) or the religion of the State's representative. Again, States claim weightage. Muslims have not agreed to it, while Hindus are, to a certain extent, agreeable to it.

The Muslim claim, as stated above, is 33% of the whole Federal Legislature. As to what percentage of the British Indian section of it they form, the extremist view is such percentage as gives them 33% of the whole. The moderate view is that they cannot be given less than 33% of 76% (76% being the population percentage of British Indians to State Indians). This means that if non-Muslims in British India agree to give larger representation to States than is warranted by their population, that should not prejudice Muslim representation in British India, and that non-Muslims in British India may agree to States having larger representation than is warranted by their population, provided they also agree to Muslim representation in what is left for British India being what it would have been if the States had obtained representation on population basis.

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5—(ix) Allahabad Unity Conference, December 1932 / January 1933.

The Allahabad Conference has concluded its work. Its conclusion may be summarised as follows :

(1) Subjects covered by the Prime Minister's award.

(a) Punjab-

Reduction of Muslim and Christian representation to increase Sikh representation.

(b) Mode of election to be changed from separate electorates to joint electorates of a sort.

(2) Matters other than those covered by the Prime Minister's award.

(a) Separation of Sind.

(b) Muslim representation in central Legislature which has been fixed at 32.

(c) The Punjab Hindus and Sikhs and Sind Hindus have formulated elaborate safeguards of minority protection.

2. The Muslim view as regards these conclusions is as follows :

(1) Reduction of Muslim representation in the Punjab cannot be agreed to. Through separate electorates Muslims get only 86, and of the 10 special constituencies with joint electorates only one is a certainty, *i.e.*, the Tummandars.

This gives Muslims 87 seats in a council of 175. In case elections run on communal lines, they are sure to have 2 more, raising their number to 89, and if a Muslim is entrusted with the duties of being President of the Council, this leaves 88 in a Council of 174 which is a bare majority. No one knows whether in the three constituencies formed for labour the preponderance of voters in any constituency will be Muslims or not. Assuming this to be the case, what does it matter ? They will be the product of joint electorates.

(2) Mode of election.—The change is not acceptable, firstly, on principle, Muslim India needs this protection; secondly, the proposal rules out uncontested election and thus makes elections too expensive.

(3) Representation in Central or Federal Legislagures—Muslims are bound to have better representation than this when Government comes to a decision.

(4) Separation of Sind is under consideration and Sind Muslims should obtain it on its merits and not by selling the safeguards of Muslim India.

3. However, out of evil cometh good. The proceedings have shown that there is no objection of principle to the separation of Sind, and that its financial aspect is not an obstacle in the way of separation. The question before Government is whether Muslims should obtain it as a matter of efficient administration of Sind—legitimate right of Sind to self-determination and self-government and as a result of lawful constitutional agitation for this reform, or whether Muslims should be forced to buy it from the Hindus either by selling their safeguard of separate electorates or by joining the civil disobedience movement. Indian Muslims are averse to do either.

5—(x) Muslim Representation in Upper Federal Chamber.

1. In the White Paper, the mode of representation of Muslims in the Upper Federal Chamber is left unsettled. The actual proposal is by proportional representation, while it recognises that in case

proportional representation does not give results which have been guaranteed to Muslims, *i.e.*, 33% of the British Indian representation, some other method will be substituted for it.

2. That in accordance with the system of proportional representation, the highest figure of representation which can be reached is 43 instead of 50, *i.e.*, a shortage of no less than 14%.

3. That the mode of representation allowed to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, is by separate electorates; in other words, Christians in India have been allowed the privilege of having three different electoral colleges for their representation through categories of Christians on racial basis. It means that Christians are allowed separate representation on religious basis and then, *inter se* they are allowed to have three different categories on racial basis.

4. In view of (3) above it is difficult to see how the authorities responsible for the White Paper can refuse the Muslim demand for separate electorates and yet this is what appears to have happened.

5. In view of the failure of proportional representation to give 50 seats to Muslims, what other method can be adopted? His Majesty's Government have not up till now made any statement on this point.

6. This matter is one of supreme importance to the Muslim community because it is one of the important items in Muslim politics in India that the method of Muslim representation in Legislatures should be through separate electorates, unless, in any particular case, Muslims themselves are prepared to modify it or to give it up altogether. This condition, in the case of the mode of election of Muslims to Upper Federal Legislature, has not been satisfied.

7. As even at this late stage His Majesty's Government have not made any statement, it is incumbent on Muslims to take up the matter in right earnest and express Muslim public opinion in an unmistakable manner. It is a matter of principle and Indian Muslims cannot afford, in a matter of this supreme importance, to be trifled with. A recognised Muslim political organization should take suitable action.

5—(xi) Muslim Representation in Upper Federal Chamber, 1933.

The Secretary of State, replying to Zafrulla, stated : "The White Paper proposal to ensure Muslims one-third seats, allotted to British India in the Federal Upper House, cannot be carried out as, under the system of proportional representation, proposed in the White Paper, if voting went purely on communal lines, Muslims would obtain 45 and, most probably, 46 seats, and that in order to make up the quota of 50, he, without committing himself, proposed that in provinces with more than 5 seats in the Councils, except Bengal and Punjab, one seat of each province should be filled by election by Muslim members of provincial legislatures, all remaining seats being filled as proposed in the White Paper, *i.e.*, by the method of proportional representation." When pressed why he did not agree to let Muslim members of each provincial legislature return their representatives by separate electorates, he replied that he "deprecated opening of *big and new field of controversy*".

This is the purport of Reuter's message relating to the Secretary of State's statement before the Joint Select Committee. It will be read with great surprise and greater regret by Indian Muslims, and is likely to be generally resented; firstly, because of its inaccuracy; secondly, because of the injustice underlying it; and, thirdly, because of the attempt to conceal the issues and give an altogether wrong explanation of it. Any one who studies the White Paper, especially Appendix I and Appendix III, will realise that under the method of proportional representation, Muslims cannot obtain more than 43 seats if voting went purely on communal lines, if as many as 150 seats were to be voted for in all the provinces put together, *i.e.*, 10 by Christians —Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans separately—and 140 by non-Christian Indians, *i.e.*, caste Hindus, depressed classes, Sikhs and Muslims. Of these 140, only 43 could be captured by Muslims if voting went purely on communal lines. In Bengal and in Bihar, the reason for their not being able to secure as much representation as they would have done otherwise is that in these provinces second Chambers are introduced, and in those second Chambers a certain number of nominations have been set apart, and in those nominations no guarantee is given that Muslims will have an

adequate share, or for the matter of that, any share.

Is the mode of Muslim representation on the Federal Upper House a *"new field of controversy"* ? This is the remark which Indian Muslims are bound to resent bitterly. At present there are separate electorates for Muslims not only in local legislatures or in the Lower Central House (The Assembly) but also in the Upper Central House (The Council of State). Indian Muslims have always insisted that their method of representation *i.e.*, by separate electorates, should stand undisturbed unless they themselves agree to its modification or surrender. At the Round Table Conference, when proportional representation was advocated by His Majesty's Government, *Muslims* at once entered a protest, saying that they could agree to *it only if* their full share was thereby secured to them, and it was understood that if this method did not secure their full share to them, they would have their share secured by separate electorates. How then can it be said that this is a "big and new field of controversy" ? As a matter of fact, the Secretary of State has, it is much to be regretted, opened a big and new field of controversy, *i.e.*, taking away the method of separate electorates from Muslims without their agreement, and this is a matter which Indian Muslims cannot afford to let it rest where the Secretary of State has left it. It may be that he feels that under the existing circumstances, Muslim dissatisfaction, Muslim resentment, at this injustice cannot cause him any trouble. But let it be remembered that an injustice is an injustice, and a breach of faith undermines confidence, and no administration can practise injustice and breach of faith without suffering the consequences, though it may take some time for those consequences to materialise. I strongly advise the Indian Muslims not to let this proposed injustice make them resort to threats or undignified language or outburst of anger, but calmly and quietly to take stock of the situation, to enter their protest in a well-reasoned statement, and consolidate Muslim opinion on the subject, and learn by experience—Place not thy trust in the promises of Governments.

5—(xii) Bengal Legislature, 1933.

In constituting the Bengal Legislative Council, several difficulties have arisen. Some of these are :

(*i*) *Existing special constituencies* :

There are more in Bengal than in any other province. In Bengal, there are 22, while the next largest number is—13 in Madras, and 12 in Bombay.

(*ii*) The proposed addition is also the largest in Bengal—13 as against 12 of Bombay and 10 of Madras.

(*iii*) European representation at present is larger than in any other province.

(*iv*) The proposals to increase European and Anglo-Indian representation are also at a higher percentage in Bengal than elsewhere.

(*v*) The special constituencies are such that the chances of Muslims securing any representation in the existing special constituencies are nil, and, in the proposed special constituencies, are very small.

2. A rapid review of Muslim representation in other provinces will show that, generally speaking, the Committee has allowed representation at a figure below that which the Muslims would have secured had the Lucknow Pact been followed. The loss under this head is—in Madras, 3; Bombay, 1; U.P., 1; Bihar & Orissa, 2; C.P., 2; Punjab, 2.

3. It will be noticed that in no province has the majority community been reduced to an equality or a minority in spite of the weightage allowed to the minorities.

4. The main question is—should, in Bengal, Muslims be allowed a technical majority or not, *i.e.*, a majority of one in a House of, to take an odd number, 251; or, if the House must be 250 only, should they be given 126, or should they go below 125 ?

(*a*) What should be the Christian and, in particular, the European representation ? Muslims are prepared to surrender all representation in excess of 50.4%, which means 4.5%. This will only give 6.5 to Europeans, which is less than what they have already got. If more representation is to be given there is no reason why the Hindus should not contribute towards it. A 3% from Hindus would

enable Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians to have 10% representation, of which Muhammedans will have contributed 5, Hindus 3; and in the whole Legislature, representation will be Muhammedans 50, Hindus 40, Europeans and others 10. If greater representation for Europeans is necessary, then it should be contributed to by the two communities in the proportion in which their population exists. Any further increase in European representation will take away the Muslim majority and even equality.

(*b*) In the above-mentioned method, special constituencies, both present and proposed, will have to be determined as belonging to one community or other. Of the present special constituencies, none is open to Muslims. Of the proposed, 2 of women have been set apart for Muslims, and it is possible that of labour constituencies in two Muslim voters may preponderate. It is urged that of the 8 labour constituencies, it will not be impossible to have 2 or 3 in which Muslim voters may preponderate; and of the 5 landlord constituencies one could be set apart for Muslim landlords. In that case, of the special constituencies, present and proposed, Muslims could have as many as 5 or 6 seats if they so desired. In case this is not considered feasible, then to that extent the general constituencies to be set apart for Muslims will have to be increased.

5. The various alternatives are :—

(A) (1)	Present special constituencies	22	35
(2)	New special constituencies	13	
(3)	Europeans	5	8
	Anglo-Indians	2	
	Indian Christians	1	

of the present representation.

(4) This leaves 207 general constituencies, of which such may be allotted to Muslims as, with 2 Women and 2 Labour, and such others for which arrangements may be made, will give Muslims not less than 125 seats. This will give Muslims 50%, Hindus 42%, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians combined 8%.

(B) In the alternative, give Europeans 11, Anglo-Indians 4, Indian Christians 2 ; 17 in all.

This will leave 198 constituencies, of which Muslims should have as many as will enable them, with the 2 women and 2 labour and such others as may be arranged for them from special constituencies, to have a total of 122, giving a percentage of 49. This will give nearly 12% to Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, and 39.5% to Hindus.

(C) If Europeans were given 10, Anglo-Indians 2, and Indian Christians 1, it will leave 201 constituencies behind. This works out at 10% for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, and the remaining 90 could be divided between Muhammedans and Hindus in the proportion of 50 and 40. This one seems to me to be the fairest to all concerned.

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5—(xiii) Muslim Representation in Central Legislature and Muslim Solidarity, 10 July, 1934.

Leading politicians of Muslim India feel that Indian Muslims are much more united to-day than they have been for a long time in the past. They are prepared to consider reform proposals on their merits, it being understood that under any scheme of reforms their position in the Legislatures of the country, central as well as provincial, is assured both as to the method of election and as to the extent of representation in each Legislature. His Majesty's Government have decided that the existing method of representation which is by separate electorates should continue until it is altered by the Muslims themselves in agreement with others. Considering that this was the method the Congress and the Muslim League agreed upon in 1916, His Majesty's Government could not have arrived at any other decision. As to the extent of representation in the case of the Central Legislature, it remains as at present, *i.e.*, 33 1/3rd%. As regards local Legislatures, the present extent of representation is more or less reproduced in all Legislatures, except those of Bengal and the Punjab. In the Punjab, there is a slight improvement in favour of

Muslims, while there is a fair increase in favour of Muslims in the case of Bengal; but in both cases the increase is much below the population basis, and, therefore, no objection can reasonably be taken to it. It is not clear whether the Congress or the Hindu Maha Sabha object to the method of election, or the extent of representation, or both. The All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League are agreed that this decision cannot be departed from unless it be by the agreement of the communities as provided for in the decision itself; and those Muslims who are called Congress Muslims or Nationalist Muslims seem to have recognised that it is not possible for them to hold any other view. Thus, Muslim India stands united on this point, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others are exhibiting a deplorable lack of insight in political affairs when they urge that the so-called communal award should be modified. This only means that while the Congress had a chance of doing some constructive work for the country, these foolish friends are making it impossible for it to do so.

Unless those responsible for formulating the Congress policy look out, the Congress will be in a hopeless position. It has already failed in its experiment with non-co-operation. Then it had recourse to civil disobedience—a stiffer edition of non-co-operation, and it failed again. It not only failed but it had also to recognise and admit publicly that it has failed. Still, it is open to the Congress to make a fresh start. Will it have the courage to work on national basis; or will the Hindu Maha Sabha push it into adopting a Maha Sabha programme ? Will the Congress recognise that in India there are a number of communities and that they are not inclined to let themselves be absorbed by the Hindu community ? They want to live as self-respecting units of the Indian nation, peaceful, law-abiding, helpful, contributing to the development and progress of India but are not prepared to commit suicide so that Hinduism, deprived of the correcting influence of other cultures, may relapse into the stagnation which had overtaken it before other influences came to save it from that stagnation.

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6. Dr. Ansari's Proposals to meet Muslim Demands and Hindu Position, 1932.

Dr. Ansari put forward certain proposals at Faridpur on the 27th of June. Some of them have already been discussed at the Round Table Conference and a general agreement arrived at, *e.g.*, the Services, representation in the Cabinet by convention, and fundamental rights. His proposals include four more—(1) one-third Muslim representation in Federal Legislature, (2) separation of Sind, (3) grant of reforms to N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan on the same basis as to other provinces, and (4) the constitution to be federal with residuary powers vested in federating units. On these four points the proposals are in agreement with those of the All-Parties Muslim Conference. This leaves two points mentioned by Dr. Ansari, the first being adult franchise. He knows perfectly well that amongst Hindus there is a large body of opinion which, though prepared to treat adult franchise as the ideal, does not consider it practicable at the present stage of political evolution in India. Whether this is due to the threatened danger of communism or of Kisan troubles due to economic depression is immaterial. Therefore, it is not practical politics to talk of adult franchise in the present scheme of reforms. Consequently, the proposals regarding the mode and amount of representation for Muslims made on that assumption fall to the ground. Again, Hindu opinion has already rejected the device of having population communally reflected in electoral roles. Dr. Ansari's proposal lays down that Bengal and the Punjab should have an odd majority, but through joint electorates, and he would allow representation to Muslims in the six minority provinces on population basis with reservation of seats, and also the right to contest seats in general electorates.

(2) Are these Dr. Ansari's personal views, or are these the views of the Congress Muslims as a body? If the latter, are these the views which the Working Committee of the Congress have blessed and adopted as their views? Or, are these the views of Muslim Congressmen which the Working Committee of the Congress is not prepared to accept? Dr. Ansari urges that these are the views based on not

communal considerations but purely national considerations. Indian Muslims would like to know whether the Working Committee of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi agree with him. In case they do, it is possible, having established agreement on several points, to hope to secure agreement by negotiation on the remaining points, provided the points on which agreement has been secured are acceptable to His Majesty's Government as well.

(3) Only recently, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a stalwart of the Liberals, expressed regret that Hindu members of the Round Table Conference last year did not come to an agreement *with the Muslim* members in London. He has not, however, been definite in his statement, and has had recourse to general platitudes. Indian Muslims will be glad to know what his views are on the points covered by Dr. Ansari's proposal. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is a little vague in his statement, but he is prepared in the six minority provinces to agree to the weightage at present enjoyed by Muslims, and to that extent his proposals are distinctly an improvement on Dr. Ansari's proposals. On the other hand, he has not stated that in the future federal constitution of the country, residuary powers will vest in the federating units, nor does he stand for the N.W.F.P. having exactly the same form of Government and administration as other provinces in Biritish India, nor again does he definitely agree to one-third of the federal legislature being Muslim.

(4) I appeal to Mr. Gandhi and the working Committee of the Congress, to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and the Liberal Federation to be so good as to express their views definitely on Dr. Ansari's proposals mentioned above, and thus enable the Indian Muslims to know their views so that they may feel that agreement has been reached on some points and thus feel encouraged to open negotiations with the Congress and the Liberal Federation to arrive at agreement on all other points, and thus present an united front at the Round Table Conference.

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7. **Reforms in Baluchistan, 1932-33.**

Baluchistan

The problem is how to find a suitable place for the various parts of Baluchistan in the new constitution. British Baluchistan is a very small part of Baluchistan, and with the addition of Agency Territories is less than half in population and one-third in area. Kalat and Las Bela, however, are not Indian States of the kind that exist in the Punjab or Central India or Southern India. It is suggested that the following idea might be developed, and out of it a scheme evolved which might serve the purpose :

There should be a unit to be called Federated Baluchistan, the federating units being :

(1) British Baluchistan and Agency Territories.

(2) Kalat and Las Bela.

(3) Bugti and Marri Tribes.

Federation to be decided upon on the Khans of Kalat and Las Bela and the Sardars of the two tribes agreeing to it. Federated Baluchistan to have Legislature of its own, to which suitable functions will be allotted. Administration to be conducted by the three Units as at present, and, by agreement, matters of common concern to be dealt with by representatives of the 3 Units.

It is believed that the future of the two States and Tribal Areas is bound to be full of troubles unless they are set upon a well-devised course of natural development without having recourse to agitation and what accompanies agitation in the nature of disturbance and trouble.

Baluchistan is a mountainous country between three and four times the size of the N.W.F.P. administered districts and tribal area combined. Its total population, however, is only about 9,00,000 or under seven per square mile. Politically, Baluchistan is divisible

into four parts :

		Area (sq. miles)	Population (persons)
I. Indian States	...	80,410	405,109
II. Tribal Area	...	7,280	55,224
III. Agency Territories	...	37,216	408,284
IV. British Baluchistan	...	9,476	

It will be observed that two-thirds of the area and one-half of the population is included in the Indian States of Kalat and Las Bela, (the latter nominally a feudatory of the former), and the "Tribal Areas" (*i.e.* the unadministered Marri and Bugti territory), all of which lie outside the scope of constitutional reform.

British Baluchistan includes the *tehsils* of Shahrig, Sibi, Duki, Pishin with Shorarud, and the Chaman sub-division. These were assigned to the British Government by treaty in 1879 by Yakub Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan. In no part of the province does British administration date back further than 1879.

The "Agency Territories" comprise :

(a) the Quetta *tehsil*, the Bolan Pass District, and the Nushki and Nasirabad *tehsils* ; and

(b) the land occupied by the railway from Jhatpat to Mithri, Nari to Spintangi, and Spezand to Sorosham ; the Chagi and Western Sinjrani country ; and the whole of the Zhob and Loralai Agencies, except the Duki *tehsil* in the latter.

These are all directly administered by the Chief Commissioner of British Baluchistan as Agent to the Governor-General. Those under head (a) were taken over under an agreement with the Khan of Kalat, and those under head (b) at the request of the local tribal headmen. The Indian Statutory Commision doubt, therefore, whether any constitutional changes can be introduced in these "Agency Territories" without the consent of the other parties to the agreement under which they were acquired (Report vol. I, p. 325). The jural position of this

area would seem to be analogous to that of Berar and of the tribal area of the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab (cfr. note under sub-head iii of Head IX of Circ. No. 1).

From the practical administrative point of view, however, there is no substantial difference between "Agency Territories" and British Baluchistan, whether as regards the laws actually in force, or the manner in which these laws are administered.

By a notification of 1911 under the India (Foreign jurisdiction) Order in Council of 1902, all laws in force in British Baluchistan are, in the absence of a declaration to the contrary, deemed to apply to the Agency Territories. The laws applicable in British Baluchistan comprise :

(1) Such of the laws in force in any part of British India at the commencement of the British Baluchistan Laws Regulation, 1913, as are specified in Schedule I to that Regulation;

(2) Such acts of the Indian Legislature made subsequently to the commencement of that Regulation as are expressed to extend to British Baluchistan;

(3) Regulations made for British Baluchistan under Section 71 of the Government of India Act; and

(4) Enactments in force in other parts of British India which are extended to British Baluchistan by notification under the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874.

Baluchistan lies outside the range of the monsoon, and its rainfall is light and uncertain. There is little prospect of an increase of population, or of any development of industry, except in the wool trade and fruit trade.

In the whole province there are only two towns worth the name—Quetta and Sibi—and only seven smaller townships, populated chiefly by Englishmen, Punjabis and other Indians. The Baluchis proper ordinarily avoid the urban areas and are scattered over the country in hamlets or tents. They live mostly in a tribal state of society and

more than half of them have not yet emerged from the nomadic or semi-nomadic state. Education is very backward so much so that of the 7,33,000 Muslims in the whole of Baluchistan, less than 10,000 are literate, and more than half of these are not Baluchis. Signs of a desire for improvement are, however, not wanting, and in an address presented to H.E. the Viceroy at Quetta on April the 26th, 1932, a deputation of leading tribal sardars and chiefs, led by Nawab Bahadur Mahmood Khan Jogazai asked for further educational facilities. The opening of an intermediate college at Quetta has, for some time past, received sympathetic consideration from the Government of India, and it is hoped that the scheme will come into effect as soon as financial conditions permit.

The occupation of the country was forced upon the Government of India for purely strategic reasons. The province of British Baluchistan has, as indicated in the Appendix, meant an average deficit of about 76 lakhs a year to the central finances.

The more important British laws extended to British Baluchistan and the agency territories affect only the few towns and headquarters bazaars. The rest of the country is governed by customary law, as ascertained and modified from time to time by assemblies of tribal elders. When any special questions affecting the tribesmen arise outside the routine of administration the Agent to the Governor-General takes advantage of the assemblages of Chiefs, which take place twice a year at Quetta and Sibi and are known as the "Shahi Jirga", to call together and consult tribal representatives. The "Shahi Jirga" is composed of representatives from all parts of the province including the Kalat State and tribal areas. Thus the tribesmen are, in all essential matters, already self-governing. They ascertain and expound their own customary laws, which are the only laws permitted by the administration to be applied to them; they are responsible for the prevention of crime and the settlement of feuds.

To judge from appearances there would seem to be no general desire for a change among the leading men of the tribes, but constitutional reform in this province has now become one of the "demands" of the Muslim community of British India.

Sir Frederick Johnston, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, in a note dated the 31st October 1927, states as follows :

"………the real tribesmen of the country already enjoy to the fullest possible extent self-government by means of the consultative assemblies of their recognised representatives and they have in recent years, recognising that custom is a living growth, of their own volition revised their customary law in many important respects so as to bring it more into consonance with modern conditions and ideas. I would personally welcome some arrangement which would give legislative authority to their proceedings and decisions upon tribal and customary law and I can see no objection to consultation being required with the natural leaders of the people of all subjects affecting their interests, as such procedure would merely embody the existing practice. If the difficulties I have outlined could be got over, I can see no objection from an administrative point of view to the constitution of a Council which would consist of the natural leaders of the people, who would, as they do now, legislate and advise on their own simple affairs".

On this, his successor Col. St. John, in a note, dated the 14th April 1928, says :

"I am unable to understand the last paragraph of Sir Frederick Johnston's note in which he suggests that some arrangements might be made to give legislative authority to the proceedings of the existing consultative assemblies. In my opinion and also in that of the officers whom I have consulted on the subject the proposal, so far as I am able to understand it, is unworkable.

The Chief consultative assembly in Baluchistan is known as the Shahi Jirga and is composed of representatives from all parts of the Province including the Kalat State and Tribal areas. It is possible that legislative authority might be given to this assembly but as such authority could only be applied to those areas which come under the Government of India Act, *viz.*, British Baluchistan and possibly the Agency territories the assembly would lose much of the utility and power that it now possesses.

In the circumstances I do not consider that it would be advisable to make any change in the existing character of the Shahi Jirga though I am strongly in favour of this assembly being more frequently consulted regarding administrative matters affecting the general welfare of the people of the Province."

The Indian Statutory Commission did not recommend any change (para 126, Vol. II); but advised that one member should be nominated by the Chief Commissioner to the central Assembly (para 144, vol. II) and one in turn with Coorg and Ajmer-Merwara to the Council of State (para 150, vol. II). This the present Chief Commissioner fully supports with the further suggestion that for purposes of representation "British Baluchistan" should be interpreted to include all "Tribal areas" and "Agency Territories" in addition to actual British territory. The Government of India in para 79 of their Despatch accept the view of the Statutory Commission and the local officers "that no present change is required in the administration of Baluchistan, where no desire for Western institutions has yet expressed itself." At the same time they also support the Chief Commissioner's suggestion regarding the representation of Baluchistan in the central legislature. The whole question is now under the consideration of the Franchise Committee.

References : Govt. of India's memorandum on Baluchistan, pages 1279-1291, vol. V, Indian Statutory Commission's Report; I.S.C. Report, vol. I paras 365 to 366 & vol. II, paras 126,144, 150; views of local Govts. on the recommendations of the I.S.C. pp. 343-4; Govt. of India's Despatch on proposals for Constitutional Reform, para 79; Imperial Gazetteer of India—Baluchistan.

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8. Muslim Policy and Congress, 1933.

Spare Copies :

I have sent copies to

1. Seth Haroon

2. Hafeez

3. H. Imam
4. Dr. Iqbal

Sent to

1. Ghuznawi
2. Abdulla Suhrawardy
3. Feroz Khan

Before making 8 copies I am sending this copy to H. M. for any correction H. M. may wish to make. F.H. 1-5-33

No Round Table Conference for Muslims is called for. The All-Parties Conference is such an Institution, and we should adhere to the Resolutions passed by the All-Parties Conference and the Muslim League a few weeks back at Delhi.

2. I do not attach any importance to the Resolution passed by the Muslim Nationalists at Lucknow recently. They disclose that in case there is no adult suffrage, there is no choice but separate electorates even to them. This has been the Muslim position all along, and there is nothing new to worry about.

3. I know the Congress and others are financing Muslim Nationalists to create a rupture in Muslim ranks, but the Muslim opinion is so strong and so solid that no propaganda done amongst the Muslims can possibly succeed. I think what is needed is to request the Congress to disclose its hand, and if the Congress will not listen to our request, then force it into a position where it must disclose its hand. Does Congress stand for weightage for Muslims in the six provinces or does it not? Does it stand for weightage in the Central Legislature for Muslims or not ? Does Congress recognise the principle of Muslims having a majority in the Punjab and Bengal ? It does not matter what view the Congress expresses. Its expression cannot but result in alienating such Muslims as are already within it, or, in the alternative, alienating a very large section of the Hindus believed to be with the Congress. These are the lines on which Muslim politicians should work.

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9. Hindu Attack on the Aga Khan with Reference to his broadcast to America, 1933.

His Highness the Aga Khan's broadcast address to America on Sunday last, placing the Indian Muslims' case before the public, would not have attracted the notice it deserved if Messrs. Malaviya, Shastri, Jayakar, Moonje and others had not made a most malicious statement concerning it, challenging the Aga Khan's right to speak with authority upon Indian questions and denying that economic disparity and other important differences between the Hindus and the Muslims did invest the Indian problem of political advance with exceptional difficulties. The Indian public know full well that the Aga Khan led the historic Muslim Deputation of 1908 to Lord Minto; that he was the founder and president of the Muslim League; that he was the leader of the Aligarh University movement; and that he presided over the historic Muslim Conference of 1929 at Delhi. If he has not the right to speak for Indian Muslims, well may the Indian masses ask: which one of these worthies has the right to speak for the dumb, depressed classes of India ? Is it Pandit Malaviya to whom the very shadow of the poor depressed class humanity is such an anathema that he cannot bear to eat or drink under that shadow? Who does not know that nearly 3 crores of Muslims in Bengal Presidency are in virtual slavery; that both in Bengal and Bihar, Muslim land-owners have been very largely expropriated long ago, and their lands are in the possession of the Hindus; that the same process has been at work in the U. P.; that this process was working at full speed in the Punjab, but 30 years ago was checked by the passing of the Land Alienation Act, and thus the Punjab Muslims have still some life left in them, and hence the desire of the Congress and the Hindus at large to reduce them to economic and political slavery. The intensive and extensive propaganda done by the Congress and the Hindus in England, in Europe and in America has given quite a wrong impression of the position of Indian Muslims, and hence the resentment felt by Hindu leaders against the Aga Khan for letting in a ray of light on facts concerning Indian Muslims. For how long, did they think, the civilized world could be kept in the

dark ? Expropriation of Muslim landlords and enslavement of the agriculturists is taking place rapidly in Sind, and the Bombay Government has been unwilling to adopt the remedy tried in the Punjab with success. This is what makes the Sind problem an acutely communal one. As a matter of fact, it is an economic one. How is it that while the Congress approves of separation of Sind, Sind Hindus who, in other matters, follow the Congress blindly, in this matter refuse to follow the Congress view? It is but right that the British public and the civilized world should know that the problem is not one of parties, or of mode of election, or of amount of representation, but one which goes to the very foundation of the conception of the India of the future. If it is intended that there should be an uniformity of culture throughout India, then with the help of the British bayonets it is possible to try to establish it by bringing about the economic and political enslavement of Muslims and other minorities wherever they are possessed of any strength or vitality. If on the other hand, India of the future is to be a great country wherein Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others are to live peacefully and develop along their own lines, sharing the civic life of the country, then it is obvious that the proposals of the Congress and of the Hindus cannot lead to that ideal. The British public should make up its mind. If it decides to abdicate power and responsibility, then let it do it at an early date and thoroughly, and let the warring communities and people of India settle their dispute themselves. The Congress Hindus and others have done a great service, no doubt unconsciously, in making Muslim India realize that they cannot expect a fair and just treatment even from a man like Shastri who has joined in the manifesto.

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10. Bengal and Its Problems.

10—(i) Peculiar feature of Bengal.

1. (a) Educationally, politically, intellectually, Bengal was the foremost province in India. The condition of the cultivator, however, was far from satisfactory. During the last quarter of a century, it has lost ground, or, at all events, events have happened showing that other provinces are ahead of Bengal.

(b) At present, terrorism is strong, and the economic condition of the rural areas is worse than before. The administration, *i. e.*, the public services, are in the hands of the Hindu *Bhadra Log* and the Muslim feeling is embittered on the non-fulfilment of promises during the last 20 years or so, while the success of the *Bhadra Log* in capturing the Calcutta Corporation and running it indicated to them the chances of patronage, advancement and success in case further power were appropriated by them.

While the Hindu *Bhadra Log* find that more posts are not available for them, those already in existence being occupied by their brethren, they feel it is the fault of the British Government that they are left unprovided. Probably, it is the attention paid to the development of mind to the exclusion of physique that has produced a temperament sensitive and nervous, sentimental and erratic.

(c) This, however, applies to an almost insignificant percentage of the people, but the atmosphere is hopeless inasmuch as there is no school of thought amongst Hindus which takes a different line to that which is taken by the Hindu *Bhadra Log*. As regards Muslims, the masses have hardly any feeling except one of misery, now approaching verge of exasperation. The middle class Muslims go their own way trying to make some sort of living. They see, according to their ideas, the Hindu *Bhadra Log* have prospered and are in power. The Government gives way only to them and on account of their power; they feel they are too weak to follow their example, [and prosper. They have no] interest in life beyond their efforts to make a living. As regards the educated upper people, their very position has made them, as a rule, intensely selfish, trying to gain something from both sides. It is perhaps uncharitable but it is not altogether incorrect.

(d) Because in the Bengal atmosphere there is no strong school of thought, in fact, no school of thought at all, therefore, there is no check whatsoever on terrorism. If the atmosphere is unfavourable to terrorism, it cannot flourish, especially when suitable measures are taken to deal with it and to crush it. Similarly, because the administration is the monopoly of one community, further difficulties

arise both in the matter of atmosphere and in the matter o. administration.

2. I am in entire agreement with those who think that the problem should be dealt with in a constructive spirit. This is absolutely essential, and, therefore, the only point on which consultation and discussion are needed in the details of the proposals constituting an effort at constructive work.

3. Should this nation-building work, constructive work, or uplift work, or recovery plan, be taken up as a new department or should it be linked with something that is already in existence? *After a careful consideration* of the problem for many years, the conclusion reached by me is that any constructive work to be financially possible and administratively feasible, must be linked closely with the life and institutions of the people, and the real work should be done by the people themselves for themselves. Any outside agency can show good results within a limited area in a short time, provided that money is no consideration and the area is very limited. It further follows that this work must be linked with the institutions of Panchayets and Local Boards or District Boards. Government assistance should be given to these institutions on specified terms, ensuring that definite programmes are framed for the people but carried out through the people. In this connection, too much emphasis cannot be laid on the principles of cooperative movement, but in the organization of this movement it is best to adopt the Punjab plan, *i.e.*, service, especially auditing, etc., to be provided by Government.

4. In the provinces, various departments, perhaps too many separate and independent departments, have come into being, involving separate personnel and officers, with the result that the machinery of constructive work has become expensive. Under agriculture alone, we have many, not to speak of medical and public health. Economy is the very essence of uplift work, because the work in a country like India cannot be done through Public Services as they are understood by the British administration in India, *i. e.*, high salaries, time scale, rights of appeal from one officer to another.

5. *Problem of indebtedness.*

There is a great deal of truth in the proposal of creating a monopoly, but one cannot ignore the criticism, and very strong criticism, to which the proposal has been subjected but the letter, the note and the Memorandum, all three combined contain all that is necessary to have recourse to deal with this problem. On further consideration, it may be felt that the existing insolvency needs revision; that it is necessary to strengthen the machinery for working that law; and further that it is only when the amended law has been put into practice that a survey of the extent of indebtedness can be made; and then there will be time enough to see to what extent it is possible to start people afresh. Again, the problem of a mere cultivator is quite different from that of one possessed of some interest in land.

A generous help to the co-operative movement— help in the shape of providing service as well as funds—may do a great deal. The problem is one which should be tackled, and many who are not ignorant of the subject believe that it can be tackled.

6. There is one great difficulty in the way of starting such work on a large scale, *i.e.* the existing services, in particular, subordinate and provincial. A very thorough-going revision conducted in a spirit of genuine reform, can help, and where the workers in this direction are looked at with suspicion and emphasis is laid on a living wage, etc., the chances of success are thereby emperilled, because when everything is said and done, the problem is more financial than administrative.

7. This great work must be undertaken. There should be no doubt whatsoever on that point. It should be undertaken in a businesslike way. Such efforts have failed in the past because of the struggle between the enthusiast and the financier. What is needed is a businesslike enthusiast. Again, the work should not mean the creation or the addition of a new department. On the other hand, it should involve the linking together of many departments, and this work adding new life to several of the existing departments and

providing funds to make those departments function in the interest of the country. What is wanted is the creation of an atmosphere—the spirit of service rendering, and for a strong sensible Ministry of the future it should not be impossible to create a requisite atmosphere in which the service spirit will flourish.

10—(ii) Social and Political Condition of Muslims in Bengal, 1930-5. Eastern Bengal :

1. *Language.*

In view of the existing language and the economic condition of the people, it is best to leave Bengali as their vernacular, though, for purposes of higher education, Urdu is bound to come in as the cultural language of the upper classes.

2. For the masses, Bengali being the vernacular, what should be done to promote Islamic culture amongst the masses ?

The following suggestions are likely to be useful :

(a) A *Dar ul Ishaat*, *i.e.*, publication house, to be established in Dacca with a view to doing the following things:

(*i*) A Bengali translation of Quran.

(*ii*) A free Bengali translation of the books of Traditions.

(*iii*) A free translation of one or two standard *Tafsirs.*

(*iv*) Two standard works on *Fiqh* to be translated.

(b) Besides this religious literature, there should be the following :

(*i*) Bengali translations of Islamic romances, *e.g.*, of Amir Hamza, Hazrat Ali, and others.

(*ii*) Bengali translations of standard works like the Conquest of Syria, the Conquest of Persia, the Conquest of Spain.

(*iii*) Lives of Muslim heroes, Khalid and others.

(*iv*) Lives of Muslim saints—of Persia, Central Asia, India, and Bengal.

(c) In addition to this religious atmosphere, romances and saints, there should be a Bengali version of Islamic influence in India, starting from Sind, continuing Mahmood's exploits, and then a more intimate and detailed history of Bengal during the Muslim period, emphasising the work done by Muslim heroes of all sorts.

3. Over and above this work, Primers for use in vernacular schools should be written up. They should not be exclusively religious but should tactfully combine religious, moral, historical and day-to-day live education. Then there should be supplementary Readers of a general nature.

4. Along with this work of translation, adaptation, original work, there should be a vernacular paper started in Dacca.

5. *Finances—*

What is needed is—

(a) Two or three very good Arabic scholars, and two or three very good Muslim writers of Bengali, and two or three good business men with printing and publication experience—6 to 9 men working under a strong personality.

(b) If this Committee proceeds in a businesslike way and brings out the best possible edition of Quran which becomes popular in Eastern Bengal, that alone would supply funds sufficient to start the cultural work mentioned above. What is needed is initial help, and if a strong personality indicated above is forthcoming and one is assured of that authority's honesty, an initial expenditure of Rs. 50,000 for setting up a good printing work and suitable buildings for it will be all that will be required. Into this scheme can be worked all the Madrassas and other institutions, enhancing their value and uplifting the masses.

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11. Political situation in India during 1906-34, Malaviya, Bihar Earthquake, Gandhi's Harijan Fund and Zafar Ali—1934.

India and India's Politics :

Since the first decade of the 20th century, India has passed through a long series of political and economic agitations. This was

the inevitable result of the political activities of the Congress during the first twenty years of its life. This period, 1906 to 1934, might be divided into two equal halves. The first half covered the Minto-Morley reforms, the War, and the Rowlett Act and all that led to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919. The second period, commencing with 1921, can again be divided into two equal halves: 1921 to 1927, of which period non-co-operation and Muddiman Inquiry Committee's Report were the two outstanding features. The second period commences with the Simon Commission's appointment and investigation into reforms, Simon Report, Reports from provincial Governments and the Government of India, and the series of Round Table Conferences. It was during this period that political agitation against the Simon Commission started and, later on, developed into the civil disobedience movement, which reached its high-water mark in 1930. It was during this period that the Gandhi-Irwin pact was reached, and it was during this period that the Independence Resolution was passed on the Ravi Bank and re-affirmed on the seashore at Karachi. It was also during this period that the political movement which had reached its zenith in 1931 began its downward course in 1932 and crumbled down in 1933.

It is not intended here to discover the causes of the rise and fall of the political movement mentioned above, but to take stock of the present political position in India, to note the political organisations which are functioning, their programmes of work, and to form an opinion as to the chances of success or failure in the future.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his true colours :

In his recent statements to the press, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya says that he sticks to the old Lucknow pact, which means that he is prepared to agree to separate electorates for Muslims, provided Muslims are not given majority in any Province in India. He is, however, now as acute as he used to be. Does he realise that if there is to be no alteration of the old Lucknow pact, there may be no advance whatsoever on the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and the Legislatures may continue to have the official bloc and the dream of Hindu raj may disappear altogether, at all events, from quite a large

number of Indian provinces, amongst others, from his own province. So the Great Patriot, rather than give a small share of responsibility to Muslims in India, would have no reforms and prefer the domination of John Bull all over India. Truly, it has been said that the patriotism of the great Hindu leaders is skin-deep and based entirely on selfishness.

Bihar Earthquake Fund :

When the earthquake funds were started last Winter, for quite a long time the Viceroy's Fund and Babu Rajendra Prasad's fund ran neck to neck, and probably 30 or 35 lakhs were collected for Babu Rajendra Prasad's Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund. It has been stated more than once in the public press that only few lakhs, perhaps 7 or 8, were utilised in distributing relief but neither the Babu nor anybody else has ever issued any statement as to what has the fund actually amounted to; how much of it has been spent and on what particular activities and in which particular places and through which agencies; and how much of it is still left, and whether the Babu's Committee has met to distribute the remaining fund. Is it that Bihar needs no assistance, or is it that those who have got hold of the fund would rather not distribute it?

Mr. Gandhi's Harijan Fund :

The Indian public has been treated to the news of purses presented to Gandhi during his Harijan tour, of how he snatched away the valuable jewellery of the lady visitors, and how the jewellery was sold at enormous prices at auctions held by the Great Saint himself. How much does this fund amount to, and has it been yet put to any use for the Harijans ? and if so, is the distribution of the fund on a provincial basis or on population basis, or on any other basis ? The public is entirely in the dark. Is it not right that Mr. Gandhi should take the public into his confidence and let the public have the scheme, in accordance with which he intends to utilise this fund?

In the great gatherings of the Muslim representatives from all over India, Zafar Ali's Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, speech has been severely criticised as disruptive and even mischievous. Muslim India

does not want to have these sectarian matters revived. Muslim India has had enough of the troubles between Shias and Sunnis, between Ahl-i-Hadis and Sunnis, against the Aligarh movement, against Deoband and against Nadwa. All such disruptive tendencies should be given up and buried deep. Indian Muslims are keen to have solidarity, unity as Muslims, and any attempt at appealing to fanaticism and creating bad blood is generally condemned.

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12. On Sikhs, 1930-5.

Sikhs—

Some Sikhs have been urging that though they are 13% in population, they pay as much as 25% land revenue, and 40% of land revenue and water-rate combined. This is not correct. They do nothing of the kind. It is true that in their origin they are monotheistic and anti-caste, but it is wrong that they are in practice so. Their sole concern in politics seems to be not what they get themselves but what they succeed in preventing Muslims from getting. It is much to be regretted that the Sikhs have fallen low from the high religious pedestal intended for them by their founder Guru Baba Nanak, and that in these days they prefer to associate themselves with Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, and want to emulate his tactics. They claim to be India's army, they pride themselves in being the community to which Bhagat Singh belonged. They claim to be nationalists but refuse to have joint electorates with Hindus, and in every Municipality where the question of reconstitution is up, they do their utmost to secure separate electorates for them.

Our Sikh friends, moreover, should remember that Muslims look upon Guru Nanak, the Holy Founder of Sikhism, as a Muslim saint. We draw their attention to a few quotations from their sacred scriptures which do not justify the demolition of a mosque. In *Ad Granth*, page 22, Asa Mahalla Guru Nanak instructs his followers as follows: "Offer the five daily prayers and read the Quran." He himself used to call the *Azan* (see *Ittihas* Volume 1, page 147, Bhai Bala page 563 and Bhai Mani Singh page 370). In *War* Bhai Gurdas we read from 1 to 35 that Guru Nanak went on a

pilgrimage to Mecca. The *Chola* which he used to wear in the open is covered with verses from the Holy Quran.

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13. Negotiations with Hindus and Sikhs to replace Separate Electorates.

(1) 1933 (Background narration)

(2) 1933 (Criticism of Hindu and Sikh Retreat)

(3) 1933 (Dr. Narang's Note)

(4) 1933 Urban Constituencies (Incomplete)

(5) On Sir R. K. Mookerji's letter to the *Statesman*, 1933.

13—(i) Background Narration, 1933.

Punjab Agreement—

During and soon after the Simla session of the Punjab Legislative Council, a short time ago, Hindu and Sikh members, Muslim members, Hindu leaders of the Punjab, Hindu youth leaders, Sikh Akali leaders, Mian Ahmadyar Khan Daultana and Malik Muhammad Din gave statements to the press. Raja Narendra Nath and Mian Ahmadyar Khan gave their respective versions of the agreement, and from these the following points emerge :—

(1) That according to Raja Narendra Nath, Hindus and Sikhs are agreed on the following points—

(*a*) Franchise be revised so that the population of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs may be reflected in the voting register. This means that keeping the voting strength of Sikhs intact, the voting strength of Hindus and Muslims will have to be increased to such an extent as to bear the same proportion to their respective populations as the Sikh voting strength bears to its population.

(*b*) The electorates instead of being separate as at present be joint in the future, *i.e.*, voters of the three communities should vote in the election of every member.

(*c*) That the strength of the Legislature, the number of special constituencies, distribution of general constituencies amongst Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims, as given in His Majesty's Government's decision, should remain intact.

(*d*) That the constituencies be single-member constituencies.

This version of Raja Narendra Nath is supported by Mian Ahmadyar Khan Daultana. Now for the points of difference.

2. The agreement on which Raja Narendra Nath secured the Hindu Members' signatures contemplates constituencies which overlap, *i.e.*, the Sikh constituencies remain as they are under separate electorates but instead of Sikhs only voting in those constituencies, voters of the three communities vote. The same applies to the case of Hindus and Muslims. Take an illustration: In the new Legislature, Sikhs will have two urban seats, so the entire urban areas of the Punjab will be divided into two parts, and Raja Narendra Nath's formula provides that the Sikh, Hindu and Muslim voters of half the Punjab urban areas will elect one Sikh, and the voters of the other half elect a second Sikh. As against this, Mian Ahmadyar's version provides that the Punjab urban areas will be divided into 19 equal constituencies, *i.e.*, equal in the matter of population, and that of these 19, Sikhs will have those two constituencies wherein the proportion of Sikh voters to non-Sikh voters is the largest. It is obvious that what Raja Narendra Nath calls a little inconvenience in canvassing is really a very great nuisance, from every point of view and is thoroughly unsound constitutionally. Again, take the case of Hindus. They will have 8 urban constituencies in the Punjab. According to Raja Narendra Nath's version, the entire Punjab urban areas will be divided into 8 constituencies wherein voters of the three communities will vote to return 8 Hindus. As against this, according to Mian Ahmadyar's version, of the 19 urban constituencies, Hindus naturally will select those 8 wherein their proportion of voters is the highest as compared with non-Hindu voters. The same applies to the case of Muslims. Does

Raja Narendra Nath mean that the Sikhs prefer the system under which entire Punjab urban areas form two constituencies, and in each one of them Sikhs form an insignificant minority? Again, take the case of rural areas. The same argument applies with equal force. Is there any reason why Raja Sahib should not express an opinion? : which of the two systems he himself prefers, and it would be very interesting to hear which of the two systems is preferred by Sikh Leaders and by Hindu Leaders; and in case they do not like either system, is it to be understood that they prefer separate electorates? There is yet another alternative. Hindu and Sikh leaders may prefer joint electorates without reservation of seats. If so, why not give expression to that view?

3. The matter is one of great public interest and importance. It is no longer a secret or a mystery. The problem is not so abstruse as to be within the comprehension of the highly educated only. The matter is fairly simple and within the comprehension of the man in the street.

4. As regards Muslims, the position is this : At present they are a minority, and, after very careful consideration, they have preferred separate electorates to joint electorates, but as soon as the Hindus and Sikhs, by agreeing to have the population of the three communities reflected in the voting register, convert Muslim minority into a majority, the Muslim community no longer possess the right to make a choice between separate and joint electorates, and therefore the choice rests with the Hindus and Sikhs. Will they make their choice? If so, what is it to be? Will they stand for separate electorates as the Muslims did, or will they stand for joint electorates? If for joint electorates, do they want single-member constituencies which do not overlap or do they want over-lapping constituencies? Let them make their choice and try whether Muslim public help them in arriving at an agreement or obstruct them.

5. If the leaders of the three communities want a settlement, then it is best to be frank, both in discussion and in appreciation of

each other's position. It is no use to bandy harsh words or attribute blame to each other. What is the good of it? If Hindus and Sikhs want a settlement, they can have it. If they do not want a settlement, let them act in a peaceful and reasonable manner, in a spirit of mutual goodwill. After all, it is the spirit that matters most.

The draft represents the final stage reached at present and is for consideration. It has no authority behind it, and such strength or value as is claimed by it is to be found in it. It cannot proceed any further till it has obtained the support of the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab in the first place, and of the Muslims in the second place. *It is not likely* to give any great satisfaction to the three communities concerned.

What does the agreement mean? It means that in the voting register, the population of the three communities in the Punjab—Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, is reflected, and, therefore, the question of electorates assumes a new aspect, *i.e.*, it is for the minority communities to say whether they want separate electorates or not. If the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab are prepared to accept the provision as regards franchise and want joint electorates, unless Muslims have sufficient reasons to the contrary, they will be expected to agree to it. It should, however, be clearly understood that this agreement can have no value whatsoever unless it has the support of the vast majority of the leaders of all the three communities, and also has the support of the recognised political institutions of the three communities. Measures like these depend for their success not on the names of the persons who evolve them or support them, but on their intrinsic merit and on the appeal they make to the better minds of all the communities. There is no measure which is not open to some criticism or other, and there is no proposal which can be said to be free from all defects, but what is needed is the largest possible measure of agreement, and if that is not forthcoming in the case of this proposal, none of its supporters would like to proceed with it any further.

It may be said that this proposal has already been considered in the press as well as by some institutions. It is best not to enter into

any critical examination of this contention. Suffice it to say that it is for the first time that this draft of the agreement is being published, and the importance of bringing all communities together, if possible, is so great that a fair, calm, well-considered examination is necessary.

I. It is hereby agreed that in the Punjab

(1) The franchise qualifications of the three communities—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, shall be so modified as to reflect the population of each community in the voting register.

(2) The electorates shall be joint.

(3)(*a*) That so far as the Punjab Legislative Council is concerned, the distribution of the 175 seats into 10 special constituencies and 4 seats for Europeans and Indian Christians, and 161 general seats including four seats for women given in His Majesty's Government's decision (amongst Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims) shall stand.

(*b*) If women are to be given direct election in ordinary territorial constituencies, then the whole province will be distributed amongst 161 single member constituencies; otherwise among 157 single member constituencies; the distribution will be territorial on population basis; and there shall be no overlapping of constituencies. The constituencies allotted to each community will be such wherein its percentage of voters is largest.

(4) Each one of the above clauses is an essential part of the agreement.

II. It is requested that the franchise proposals in the White Paper for the Punjab Legislative Council be revised and the decision given by His Majesty's Government on the communal question modified as in the agreement above. The two requests stand or fall together.

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13—(ii) Criticism of Hindu and Sikh Retreat, 1933

For at least six months now, a great deal has been said and heard about the so-called Punjab formula. It has been published, it has been discussed, it has been criticised, it has been attacked, it has been defended, over and over again. Nationalist papers, on the whole, welcomed it; communalist papers, on the whole, condemned it. Hindu and Sikh leaders, having initiated the proposals, proceeded to develop them and asked the Muslim community to agree to them. The Muslim press, on the whole, was critical and opposed to them; but when they found that Muslim leaders were prepared to give their support, and that the Muslim community will not be lagging behind its sister communities in supporting the proposals, the Hindu and Sikh leaders resorted to their usual tactics of beating a hasty retreat and disowning the poor, wretched, so-called Punjab formula. As a matter of fact, the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs know perfectly well that the communal decision of His Majesty's Government has unduly favoured them and placed the Muslims at a great disadvantage. The Hindus and Sikhs, by acting together, time after time, have shown that they really are but one community and nowhere in India has His Majesty's Government given a weightage to a community which has a population of 42% in a province. In Assam, Muslims are barely 33%, and yet no weightage has been given to them; while in the Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs constitute 42% of the population and they have been given a weightage of nearly 6%. Several Muslims resented this injustice and wanted to raise a strong agitation against the communal award, but Muslim leaders, anxious to placate both Government and Hindus and Sikhs, discouraged them and thus prevented this injustice being exposed, in the hope that His Majesty's Government might undo the injustice done to the Muslim community. This apparently encouraged the Hindu and Sikh communities in making a pretence of dissatisfaction with the decision of His Majesty's Government on communal problem, and made them indulge recklessly in hurling threats against all, whether Muslims or Government. This attempt of Hindu and Sikh leaders to have another communal settlement, hoodwinking Muslim leaders into negotiations, should be a warning to all against similar tactics

in the future. Let all talk of arriving at new settlements be dropped and let all who are genuine in their desire to promote the welfare of the province act conscientiously, honestly and peacefully, and settle down to steady nation-building work in the province.

13—(iii) Dr. Narang's Note, 1933.

The proposal contained in Dr. Narang's note accompanying the letter dated the 3rd December, and Sardar Jogindra Singh's proposals contained in the note accompanying the letter dated 22nd November, 1932—

(1) Dr. Narang's note takes the franchise as it is, while Jogindra Singh's electorates are to reflect population.

(2) *Examination of Dr. Narang's note*—

(1) It reserves special constituencies for each community and thus creates statutory majority.

(2) The policy is in future to reduce special constituencies, while the proposal increases them; the increase being of two university seats, while women are simply taken away from general constituencies and put in here. Therefore, Muslims retain their 86 including women. There is no advantage in increasing the special constituencies.

If the special constituencies remain the same, then the proposal amounts to this—

(*a*) Electorates to be joint.

(*b*) Special constituencies to be reserved definitely.

Whether this is acceptable to Muslims or not depends upon the extent to which their population is reflected in electorates and how the constituencies span out.

In the case of special constituencies, reserving them for each community takes away the chance of interplay of political forces and makes water-tight compartments more rigid than ever.

This would indicate that the proposal is open to serious criticism from the national point of view inasmuch as it converts joint electorates of special constituencies into the reservation of constituencies for communities, and further it increases special constituencies, which is contrary to national (Congress) policy.

From the Muslim point of view, it is open to objection—

(1) Because it reserves seats in special constituencies to communities and thus takes away the possibility of interplay of political forces.

(2) Because it brings in joint electorates in general constituencies wherein their population, in all probability, will not be reflected.

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13—(iv) Urban Constituencies (incomplete), 1933.

What about the urban constituencies?

There will be 19, of which 9 will be reserved for Muslims, 8 for Hindus and 2 for Sikhs. Of the 9 for Muslims, 1 will be in the Ambala Division, 2 in the Jullundur Division, 3 in Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions, and 4 in the Lahore Division.

In the case of rural constituencies, so far as the Lahore Division is concerned, of the 29 rural constituencies, as many as 16 will be reserved for Muslims.

2. Under clause 1(3)(*b*), constituencies will be made on territorial population basis, irrespective of all other considerations, *i.e.*, without any recourse whatsoever to gerrymandering. Reservation of constituencies for a community must necessarily exclude candidates of other communities from that constituency.

3. If Hindu and Sikh leaders and Hindu and Sikh institutions support this agreement, Muslims should also give their support to it. If, on the other hand, the Hindus and Sikhs, or Hindus or Sikhs do not support the agreement, then it is not for the Muslims to support it or to press it.

(1) Increase in voting power immaterial because of the communal award.

(2) No *quid pro quo* for giving up separate electorates.

(3) Confine to 51½% representation in the future.

(4) Uneasiness amongst Muslims in other provinces.

(5) No alteration of the Award should be pressed unless all shades of Muslim opinion support it.

As to (5), I entirely agree with you.

As to (3), surely His Majesty's Govt. are not going to revise the reservation of seats in favour of Muslims to the prejudice of Sikhs in the future. Therefore, the point of this criticism is perhaps missed by me.

As to (1) and (2), they naturally stand together. Muslims are in population in a majority, in voting in a minority, and because of being a minority in the voting strength, they are entitled to separate electorates. As soon as this minority feature disappears, don't you think separate electorates disappear with it. This sounds logic and common-sense.

As regards (4), there is some force in it. On the other hand, as soon as Punjab and Bengal are able to dispense with separate electorates and have their population reflected in the voting strength, the better for their future inasmuch as at present the criticism against the Award is protection given to majorities in these provinces. Moreover, it is likely, at all events, in the Punjab, that Sikhs will soon cry off the joint electorates. If they agree to them now and press for separate electorates, in which Muhammedans will get separate electorates in the Punjab just as Hindus get them in U. P. and Madras, not because the Muslims ask for it but because of the minorities asking for it.

I enclose a copy of the draft agreement which is not yet in its final form, and a note indicating certain points relating......

13—(v) On Sir R. K. Mookerji's letter to the *Statesman*, Calcutta, 8th July, 1933.

To the Editor of the "Statesman."

Sir,—The correspondence you have recently published on the Communal Problem has not, I find, taken sufficient account of one fundamental point. The minority communities of Bengal and Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs, have declared from all platforms, Mahasabha and Round Table Conference, that they are prepared to work a genuine democracy, pure and undefiled, with their Moslem brethren in the majority, on the basis of a joint electorable, [electorate?] without claiming even any reservation of seats to the extent of their strength in population. What is the Moslem response to this offer ? If it is accepted, it will cut the Gordian knot and purge the country for all time to come of the evils of communalism and of all its brood such as Communal Electorate, Reservation or Weightage of Representation. After this standing offer of the Hindus and Sikhs, there is no use branding them always as Communalists—Yours, etc.,

Ballygunge, Radha Kumud Mookerji.
Calcutta, July 1.

Communal Pact—

Sir Radha Kumud Mookerji, in his letter dated 1st July, published in the *Statesman* of 8th July, appears to be under a grave misapprehension. He thinks that the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab are prepared to work joint electorates and not to claim reservation of seats to the extent of their population strength, and he wants to know what Muslim response to this offer is. I am sure Sir Radha Kumud Mookerji will be extremely disappointed when he learns that the Hindu and Sikh leaders of the Punjab have refused to support the agreement which some of the Hindu and Sikh leaders had evolved and to which some Muslim leaders had given their assent. If he sees the statement of Hindu leaders of the Punjab, widely published by the Associated Press, condemning the agreement and indicating in no unmistakable terms that the Punjab Hindus stand for separate electorates in case Muslims are going to have a

majority of voters in the voting register, he will feel [that] the great obstacle in the way of India's advance is the intense selfishness of the Hindu leaders of provinces wherein they are in a minority. Does he know that in the Frontier Province Hindus and Sikhs themselves have claimed very heavy weightage which has been agreed to by Muslims readily and have further pressed for and obtained separate electorates? Henceforth, separate electorates is not the creed of Muslims but of minorities, irrespective of religion. It is the creed of Hindus and Sikhs in the Frontier Province, and it is now becoming the creed of the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab.

The Punjab Hindu leaders' statement has been given wide publicity as a closely argued condemnation of the agreement propounded by some Hindu and Sikh leaders. The condemnation is so thorough and far-reaching that it is essential to emphasise its significance and its importance. It objects to Clause 1 of the agreement relating to franchise and concludes by saying: "Woe betide the Hindus who will not be able to send their representatives after their own liking". The Punjab Hindu leaders will not have, therefore, joint electorates if the franchise is such that the Muslims are in a majority on the voting register.

The statement finds fault with constituencies being framed in the ordinary way, *i.e.* territorially and on population basis, and seems to advocate separate representation.

It is significant that it is the Hindu Sabhas of Multan, Montgomery and Lyallpur that are particularly mentioned, and it so happens that these are the districts wherein Hindus are in a minority. As a matter of fact, Hindus of these districts, even in the matter of District Boards, have always pressed for separate electorates.

Out of evil cometh good. Until now, Punjab Hindus have been pressing for joint electorates, not because they believe in joint electorates, but because of Muslim voting strength being weak they hope that in this way they, with the help of Sikhs, will be able to dominate the situation and keep Muslims under their thumb. Now the veil that shrouded the hideous designs has been torn asunder.

The Hindu policy stands revealed in all its ugliness—one of intense selfishness of a minority community which wants to rule over the majority, and if advised by some of its leaders to behave in a reasonable and just manner, refuses to do so. What is the lesson? Long live the British Government; long live Separate Electorates.

PRESS REPORT

"COMMUNAL FORMULA CONDEMNED"

Punjab Hindu Leaders' Statement

Simla, July 27

"A joint statement issued by a number of Hindu leaders of the Punjab says:—

"Whenever the Hindu leaders entered into a pact with other communities, they have ever been the losers. Hindu leaders in their attempt to seek co-operation with the Muslims, have placed them in a position, from where they now dictate their own terms. In bringing about unalloyed nationalism they have, in fact, conceded all the anti-national and the communal demands of the Muslims. With the result that, instead of producing better understanding between the two communities, it has made the feelings all the more tense and is likely to endanger the very existence of the Hindu minority. The proposed Punjab Formula is another development of the co-operation-seeking mentality of these Hindu leaders. One can understand a majority community seeking the co-operation of a minority and yielding in some points to the demands of the latter in order to create an atmosphere of goodwill and trust. But minority community accepting the undemocratic and unreasonable demands of the majority community was never before conceived of much less in case of a disorganised minority community like the Hindus, who are already denied what they are entitled to even on the population basis, not to speak of the weightage which they can claim on an equitable basis.

"Compromise is always based on the principle of give and take. There can be no mutual settlement of terms, when

one party pitches its demands too high and the other is made to yield and lose.

"At the outset it will be seen that this formula is based on the principle of the Premier's Award. When the Hindus have stood against that Award, so much so, that their representatives have kept out of the Punjab Council since its announcement, there seems to be no reason to accept it now. The Muslim statutory majority still stands. To make the matter worse the Punjab formula grants them majority even in the voting register.

"Clause I of the formula establishes the Muslim voting strength as 56 per cent. throughout the province whereas the Hindu voting strength shall be only 27 per cent. according to their population, even in constituencies reserved for them. The Muslim voters shall always be in majority. Muslims can return any Hindu they vote for. The election of the Hindu members shall thus depend solely upon the sweet will of the Muslim voters, who will be in a position to return them even against the will of the Hindu population, whose they will be suposed to be the representatives. Woe betide the Hindus, who will not be able to send their representatives after their own liking.

"Clause II to which the kneedeep nationalists look up as a step towards ideal democracy, is neutralised by the clause I. What does that democracy really stand for which disables a citizen from certain rights on the ground that he happens not to belong to a certain sect. It creates a sort of artificial line of demarcation between the different communities. Nothing would be more ridiculous than that a Hindu, as such, in order to earn the right of a voter be required to possess much higher qualifications than a Mohammadan. When property is the basis of franchise what school of democratic thought can advocate different standards for different sections? What an unfair step in the name of democracy, this. Joint electorates can offer a better hope for India, only when they are run along national lines.

"Clause 3(c) distributes the seats on the territorial and geographical basis *i.e.* every territorial division shall be regarded as a constituency reserved for one of the communities, and its members shall be expected to represent the interests of all the three communities. How does the formula justify itself by depriving a community of the representation by a member of his own community, when communalism is the background of everything. Even when a person has influence with the members of his own community in a certain territorial limit, he has no chance of ever being elected a member, if that territory is alloted to another community. The clause further makes a part to represent the entire Province *i.e.* the Hindus of the Ambala division shall mainly and generally represent the Hindus of the whole of the Punjab. How can the Ambala division representatives know the real requirements and grievances of other divisions? Moreover why should the Rawalpindi and Multan division Hindus be deprived of any representation? And as a result of this anamoly, it leads to the representation of all the interests of the Hindus by persons primarily of one interest *viz* agriculture which is the principal occupation of the Hindus of the Ambala division. Such a thing is entirely unacceptable in any form.

"Whereas the formula, further, defines certain seats for the majority community in the Lahore division and the Urban constituencies, it does nothing with respect to the minority communities. The formula unduly favourable as it is to the majority community, is certainly detrimental to the minority interests. We oppose it with all the force at our command. We want to warn those leaders who may like to agree to the formula that the general Hindu public will not be at their back. And if in spite of these facts they will go in for this unjust agreement, they will be doing so on their own responsibility and their own risk. We in the end request all the Hindu organisations to lose no time to take the matter in hand and raise a voice of protest against it.

"Rai Bahadur Captain Ram Rakkha Mal Bhandari, Advocate adds: "Unless a Hindu is a traitor to his community or has been promised or sees some personal gain he cannot agree to the formula like this."

"A number of members representing various Hindu Sabhas of Lahore, Simla, Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur and other centres of the Punjab have signed the statement. —A.P.I."

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14. Mosque of the Shahidganj Area, *1936?*

1. Genises of it. That their was a mosque in the Shahidganj area is a question of fact now placed beyond all reasonable doubt by Mr. Sale's findings. In fact when the Shahidganj Gurdwara was scheduled as a contestable Gurdwara this mosque figured in it as early as 1924 and Sikh and Muslim leaders discussed the matter of this mosque, when it was understood that a settlement between the leaders of the two communities was likely to be reached. When the Sikh leaders bought out the *Mahant* their attitude perhaps did not remain the same. The second stage was reached when the Muslims tried from the Gurdwara Tribunal to obtain relief. This was refused. Things might have remained the same but the Muslim agitation for recovering the mosque grew and the Sikhs seem to have then contemplated dealing with the situation seriously. Then followed the unfortunate events of last summer in rapid succession. The Sikhs took the fatal step of demolishing the mosque. To the layman it would appear that the rejection of the Muslim claim for recovery of the mosque did not surely invest the Sikhs with the power of demolishing that mosque; it only invested the Sikhs with the authority to remain in possession of the mosque to the exclusion of the possession of Muslims and therefore Government was justified in protecting the possession of the Sikhs against the disturbance of that possession by Muslims. But further when that protection was used by the Sikhs to destroy the mosque surely the Sikhs went beyond those rights which were adjudicated upon by the Gurdwara Tribunal. Had the Sikhs brought a suit in the civil court claiming the right to

demolish this mosque as it was their property and obtained a decree to that effect certainly in that case they would have been justified, from a strictly legal point of view, in demolishing it and Government would have been undoubtedly justified in support of law and order to see that the Sikhs are allowed to exercise their legal right. That however is a stage which has been passed. The Muslims have not obtained a declaration from a civil court that the Sikhs had not the right to demolish the mosque either. So the Sikhs may say that they are entitled to call quits. When the trouble last summer grew serious Muslims decided to go to the civil court; Government supplied all facilities and a senior judicial officer was secured, hearing of the suit expedited and now the suit has been dismissed. What should be done? Obviously, Mr. Sale is not the final judicial authority. No one has any right to question his *bona fides* nor his competence, but opinions may differ. They differ every day. Even in the High Court two Judges of the High Court Bench hearing the same suit from the same counsel come to different conclusions. A reference is made to a third Judge. Even the High Court's findings and views are not final and Privy Council has been known also to hold different views on the same point of law at different times, though the theory is that those apparent differences are always reconcilable. Therefore, it may be that those who are dealing with this affair would like to take the matter to the highest court.

2. While this individual case is running its unfortunate course the point of greatest possible importance for the Muslims is to calmly think over the real trouble and to see what can be done to prevent its recurrence. The average Muslim says that once a *waqf* always a *waqf*, and, therefore there need never be any adverse possession and if the Islamic Law is enforced such troubles will cease. What does this really mean as applied to this particular case? There was undoubtedly a mosque dedicated to public worship, used for a long time as such. It had its Mutawallis, its Imams, its endowments, it had its beneficiaries, hundreds and thousands of Muslims living in the neighbourhood, using the mosque for the congregational purposes. The mosque appears to have fallen into decay. One can easily imagine the Trustee, the Mutawalli having gone wrong, abused the

endowments leaving the mosque alone and having converted the *waqf* property attached to the mosque to his own personal illegal use. He could not have done it if the beneficiaries of the *waqf*—hundreds and thousands of Muslims—had done their duty by this *waqf*. For years and years this state must have continued and eventually this horrible man may have even disposed of the mosque. What did the Muslim worshippers in the mosque do in the matter? Nothing. With such Muslims no wonder Muslim Rule passed from Muslim hands. Whether this happened under Muslim Rule or under Sikh Rule does not appear from recorded history. But it is immaterial when it happened though it must have happened at one time or another. It was a great mosque. It was the duty not only of the Muslims of that neighbourhood but of the whole of Lahore to save this mosque. They made spasmodic efforts from time to time during British Government and failed from time to time till the matter was taken up in 1924. It seems to one that what is needed is to take steps to prevent recurrence of such criminal negligence on the part of Muslim Mutawallis and Muslim worshippers of mosques and invest some Government authority with power to prevent the abuse of *Anqaf*. In Muslim countries there is an Auqaf Department of Government, in England itself there is the Chancery and so is the case in other countries. In our country, it being a country of different religions and the domination being British and the desire of all religions being that Government should not interfere in religious affairs, the matter has been left to each community and each community is supposed to look after its *Auqaf*. It has been found that Mutawallis and Trustees of all such endowments are not to be trusted in many cases. There are some good ones but there are many bad ones. At present our *Auqaf* are not even registered, i.e., no one knows whether a particular property is *waqf* or not. How can, therefore, there be any vigilant control of that *Waqf*?

3. What is therefore needed is first and foremost to have a survey of *Auqaf* of both Hindus and Muslims. A summary enquiry into their terms of trust and an authentic official register prepared for each community in every place throughout the Province. Where there is no dispute the entry be made with the agreement of the

trustees and the beneficiaries; where there is an agreement a summary enquiry made and where the enquiring authority feels the case to be a clear one it is entitled to record a decision and make the entry in the registers in accordance with that decision. But this will give the right to the dissatisfied side to go to the judicial court and obtain a reversal of that decision within say three months of that decision. In such cases, as the Commission of Enquiry feel are complicated and need judication, they should make a note to that effect and provision should be made in law to have that matter judicially examined and adjudicated. When such registers are prepared for Hindus and *Muslims it could* be said that then the communities will be in a position to know how they stand and where they stand. It will then be possible by law to insist that the accounts of the registered endowments by their respective Mutawallis are filed in the District Judge's Court, and it will also be possible to appoint a Superintendent of Auqaf to scrutinise those accounts, to see that they are in accordance with the terms of the endowments and on failure he will be authorised to move the civil authority to proceed against the trustees. If there is public demand it may be possible to secure unity of control by agreement with the Mutawallis where possible and provision of law could also be made that where a Mutawalli has made default his right of *Tawliat* be forfeited and public control of the endowment established in its place. These are very rough and sketchy ideas on the subject. But such ideas have been revolving in the minds of many thoughtful people since 1924.

4. Why this registration and rendition of accounts and appointment of officers to go into them and why not a Mosque Act like the Gurdwara Act and a Temple Act like the Gurdwara Act? There are reasons and very strong reasons for it. These are as follows :

(i) Gurdwara Act has divested Mahants, Trustees of Gurdwaras, of their vested rights and Gurdwaras in which different forms of worship were practised have been reduced to the status of one uniform worship; one sect has absorbed all other sects, various sects of the Sikhs have after struggle submitted to it. It is unlikely that amongst the Muslims various sects would submit to have their

endowments placed under the control of the management consisting preponderantly of followers of other sects. The same applies to the case of Hindus. Various sects attach greater importance to their variety of faiths and forms of worship and would prefer to retain sectarian control rather than sacrifice it for the sake of uniformity or unity of control. Then comes in the question of various shrines.

(ii) For the present the general conditions prevailing as regards Hindus and Muslims are entirely different from those which prevailed in the Punjab in 1920—25, especially amongst the Sikhs. The administration of Government then was not as perfected as it is to-day. The Government of those days was not invested with those powers with which it is invested to-day. Therefore, it is no use talking of legislation on the lines of Gurdwara Act for Muslims or for Hindus. If it is brought out and it is understood by Muslims and Hindus themselves they would cry off that legislation and refuse to extend support to it and the disruption in Muslim and Hindu Society will be much worse than it is to-day.

5. The scheme outlined in para 3 is comparatively speaking a modest one, but it is a sound one. It is one which lays strong foundation for a healthy, effective legislation on *Auqaf* whether of Muslims or of Hindus. The scheme as outlined in para 3 is admittedly very sketchy; it is the first record of stray ideas on this difficult subject but it contains ideas which can be developed and when developed will afford the nucleus of a modest measure of registration of endowments leading to a mild sort of supervision. The Mutawalli class cannot reasonably object to it; the Administration cannot raise any objection to it on principle and the possible objection could be on financial ground. It will cost money to have such a survey and institute such a Commission of Auqaf, but if it is recognised that this is a crying evil and an evil which exists in all communities and all communities desire to place their *Auqaf* on sure, stable and honest basis, surely the Government of the people, if it is responsible to the people, will find ways and means to meet this pressing demand.

6. This note is not in a fit condition to go to the public Press—it needs elaboration, it needs revision—but the subject is of such

burning interest and the public mind has been thirsty for something which would really and truly meet this evil and meet the evil in a way that could not be objected to by other communities or by the Government of the day that there seems no harm in letting it go to the public Press. The proposal contained in the note is one which has appealed to a number of thoughtful men. It is not desired that the status or the authority or the position of the author of the idea be used as an argument in support of it and therefore it is felt that it would be best that it go to the public Press on its own merits and the reader be asked in accordance with the Arabic proverb "Look at what is said and not at who has said it." It would be a good thing if the public Press, Muslim as well as Hindu, is good enough to approach the subject in a thoughtful and serious manner in order to contribute to the solution of a growing evil which has existed in the Punjab for many years—in fact exists throughout India and for which no solution has been found by legislation and which various communities have entirely failed to combat.

7. In further elaboration of para 3—

(*a*) Aims and objects—To meet the following evils:- Extinguishment of *Auqaf*, abuse of *Auqaf* due to the dishonesty and neglect of trustees, ignorance and neglect of beneficiaries and making provision for investing some legal authority with initiative in the matter of dealing with these abuses.

(*b*) As a first step towards the attainment of a survey of *Auqaf* and their registration—

Points to be mentioned in the registration are :

Extent and nature of Waqf, trustee, property, conditions. How is registration to be made ? By instituting a Commission of Enquiry ?

How will it work ? Thus :

(i) agreed cases,

(ii) created by deed which is forthcoming,

(iii) disputed cases—

Responsible committees of the locality to be formed to give in-

formation to the Commission of Enquiry, which commission will give a finding.

Entry in accordance with this finding;

aggrieved party will have the right to go to the judicial court within three months;

special facilities of special judicial court to dispose of such cases quickly;

where Commission of Enquiry finds matters complicated reference to judicial authority by the Commission of Enquiry.

(iv) later a *Darugha Auqaf* like *Darugha Nazul*.

(v) when registration completed under Civil Law, Mutawalli of every *Waqf* to render annually account by submitting it to the Civil Court in whose jurisdiction the *Waqf* is situated and *Darugha Auqaf's* duty will be to scrutinise these accounts and submit his report to court bringing out such cases where he moves the court for action;

(vi) as a result of action under (v) provision for forfeiture of *Tawliat* in extreme cases—possibility of move towards unity of control and simplification of administration of *Auqaf*.

Advantages of the scheme :

(i) facilitates authority for registration, Commission of Enquiry its procedure;

(ii) facilitates for expediting judicial side of the work, saving of time and enormous expenditure of money on litigation;

(iii) supplying the existing defect of authority to take initiative;

(iv) parallel for provision of such facilities as in Gurdwara Legislation.

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15. Disturbances in the Frontier Province and Government Policy.

(i) 27 August 1930 (Khilafatists and Congressmen in the Tribal Areas)

(ii) 24 May 1934 (Withdrawal of Special Regulations from the Frontier Province)

(iii) 1934 (Red Shirts and Congress)

15—(i) Khilafatists and Congressmen in Tribal Areas, 27 August 1930.

Khilafatists and Congressmen working across the Border in the Tribal Areas—

1. Massozais and Hathi Khel Section of Para Chamkani have been reported by Political officers to have attributed their troubles to Congress agitators and have declared that they have expelled them and will not readmit them to their country. It is of very great importance to Government that these tribes give the names and descriptions of these people and if they can trace them and hand them over to us rather than simply say that they have expelled them and will not readmit them.

2. The Central Khilafat Committee of Bombay, so far as I know, does not act in these days in a way prejudicial to Government; and, therefore, I cannot believe that it has any hand in raising the border tribes against us. As to Congressmen, frequently allegations have been made, but such statements as I have heard have not yet convinced me.

3. *Telegram P. No. 2827 S, dated 24th August 1930 from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State—*

The statement does not include an explanation why villages in British India have been occupied by the Afridis: Firstly, why have these villages not resisted; secondly, why have we failed to protect them? thirdly, whom were the Afridis to loot? if not the villages, then the city; if not the city, then there is no objective. If it was to be the city, then at whose instigation or invitation? surely, not of the city.

4. Isn't it a fact that the Local Administration is more unpopular in the year 1930 than it has ever been before; and, further, it is more unpopular than the Administrations of the neighbouring provinces of the Punjab and the U. P. If this is so, what is the explanation ?

15—(ii) Withdrawal of Special Regulations from the Frontier Province; 25 May 1934.

A decision has been reached in the Executive Council to consult Local Governments as to the advisability of withdrawing notifications in force under the Criminal Law Amendment Act against Congress organisations, but that the notifications in the N. W. F. P. are not to be withdrawn on the ground that the organisations to which they relate are revolutionary organisations. I understand there are four notifications in force under the Criminal Law Amendment Act in the N. W. F. P., *i.e.*—

(1) The North-West Frontier Provincial Jirga (Frontier Provincial Congress Committee) ;

(2) All district and local Jirgas or Congress Committees subordinate thereto;

(3) All volunteer organisations connected with the above whether known as Red Shirts or otherwise;

(4) The Provincial Naujawan Bharat Sabha, inclusive of all district and local branches thereof.

When in an official document containing such an important Government announcement an allegation is made singling out certain organisations from the rest, it is bound to be examined closely and critically. The organisations to which these notifications in the N. W. F. P. refer were notified expressly as Congress organisations pursuing Congress policy and, at the time, no mention whatsoever was made of these institutions being of a *revolutionary character*. What is the allegation? Is it that these institutions have developed a revolutionary character since the notification, or is that these institutions had this revolutionary character before the notifications?

Presumably, after the notifications, these organisations have not been functioning at all. As to before the notifications, it is bound to be urged that if these institutions were really of a revolutionary character, why were they not declared to be such? However, if there is evidence of the activities of these institutions leading to judicial proceedings or executive inquiries into the revolutionary character of their acts, it is of the utmost importance that such evidence be collected and kept ready for the Congress. If by any chance there is no such evidence forthcoming, then it is for consideration whether the revolutionary activities which the Local Government has in mind are really the activities of these institutions or not; and if they are of these institutions, then surely evidence should be forthcoming. If they are of other organisations, then, surely, the withdrawal of these notifications cannot prejudicially affect the Local Government treating the other organisations in accordance with law.

It is so easy to say that certain institutions are of a revolutionary character. What does it really mean? What sort of activities are thereby imputed to them? If they are those activities which are covered by the Civil Disobedience Movement, as practised in India since 1930, then, surely, they are the Civil Disobedience activities as such. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that to distinguish these organisations on account of their being of a revolutionary character, one must feel sure of the nature of those activities and of the particular respect in which they differ from the civil disobedience activities.

During the course of discussion, two points were urged—One was the *uniforms* and the other, *large demonstrations.* As to uniforms, all volunteer organisations in India use uniforms; and military uniforms are used by Akali Volunteers (Jathas) and have been used for years. As to large demonstrations, one would like to know what is the extent of these large demonstrations and in what way they have been different from the demonstrations in 1931-32 in Bombay. Inquiries on these lines from the N. W. F. P. Government should clear up the point—either making clear the case for pronouncing these institutions as revolutionary or showing that it is the other

organisations which are of a revolutionary character, and then to consider what steps should be taken against them.

In any case, instances of acts of revolutionary character which have been the subject of judicial trial or executive inquiry will be very helpful, especially in showing whether these four institutions, or any of them, can be reasonably connected with those acts.

15—(iii) Red Shirts and Congress, 1934.

Gandhi and Red Shirts—

A Red Shirt deputation from the N. W. F. P. is reported to have met Mr. Gandhi when he was in Lahore. It appears that they impressed upon him what has already appeared in the papers that the Frontier Province stands head and shoulders above every other province in the matter of its civil disobedience activities during the period the Congress held up that programme for being followed. The intensity of political activities in the Frontier Province was twelve times as acute as in Bombay which was the next in the order of merit. All Regulation prisoners have been released excepting Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his brother who remain under restraint under the Regulations. Ban on almost all the Congress organisations throughout India has been raised except against the Congress organisations in the Frontier Province. The Congress is happy; the Congress is grateful to Government for the release of prisoners, for the release of people restrained under the Regulation, for the release of Congress property; and what does it matter if the Congress organisations in the Frontier Province are under the ban, or the leaders of the movement in that province are in jail under the Regulation? Let the province and its leaders stew in their own juice. Gandhi is free; Sardar Patel is free. Every one for himself and let one who is left behind take care of himself. It is understood that when notice of an adjournment motion on the Red Shirts was given in the Assembly, very few Hindus got up to support it. Why should they? Ban in Hindu provinces was removed; prisoners released, the great lieutenant of Gandhi, Sardar Patel, was released. They should show their

gratitude to Government by not associating themselves with the Muslims who were anxious to express their resentment at the discriminatory treatment meted out to the Muslim province. There is a lesson to be learnt by the Muslims. Even when they excel Hindus in making sacrifices and in carrying out the Congress programme, they win no appreciation, applause or admiration, but they suffer for all the sins that the Congress has committed. In other words, they are the scapegoats of the Congress. Should not the Congress leaders in the Frontier Province review their position?

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16. Muslim Unity Board of Lucknow, Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

(i) 1934 (Muslim Unity Board)

(ii) 1934 (Detention of Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Assembly Election).

16—(i) Muslim Unity Board, 1934.

The so-called Unity Board of Lucknow has earned a most unenviable reputation in Muslim circles. It is much to be regretted that those members who find it difficult to get on with their colleagues of the Muslim Conference or of the Muslim League gravitate to this institution. Thus the Unity Board tends to become a collection of disappointed and possibly disgruntled leaders. Unable to live in unity with their colleagues of different institutions, they come to this place which strangely enough is called the Unity Board, while the result of its activities is obviously disuniting workers and the community.

Something may be said for the Congress Muslims. They are the people who are prepared to sacrifice their community according to their own lights for what they consider the good of their country. But what are these Unity Board Muslims? They profess to place the interest of their community above everything else and yet act in a manner to do the greatest harm to that interest. If choice were to be made, one would prefer an honest Congress Muslim to a so-called Unity Board leader. Another characteristic feature of the leaders of this institution is that they cannot stick to one view even for few

weeks at a time. Muslims beware of Unity Board for verily it is the creation of disunity amongst you.

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16—(ii) Detention of Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Assembly Election, 1934.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was Regulation prisoner and who was with his brother detained, though Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and others were all released, has now been released. The Muslim press urged the Congress to protest against his continued detention when every other political leader, detained under the Regulation, had been released; but the Congress did not want to act. It was left to the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League to pass resolutions demanding the release of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The united voice of Muslim India had the desired effect, and Government was pleased to release him and his brother. When Congress Muslims are in trouble, it is for the Muslim political organisations to ask for their release, for the Congress can resort to agitation only for eminent Indian leaders like Gandhi, or Malaviya, or Patel. There is a lesson to be learnt.

Assembly Election—

As regards Muslims, the Conference and the League have set out their course of action in the matter of these elections. The Muslim India is to be congratulated on its solidarity in this connection. That solidarity is threatened by the so-called Unity Board of Lucknow which is one of those curious organisms which float about and have no foundations or roots. This Unity Board wishes to keep in with the Muslims and is, therefore, for the communal award. It cannot, however, lose the patronage of the Congress and, therefore, it is for rejecting the White Paper *in toto*, and thus keep in with the Congress on the ground that the award goes with the White Paper. Such duplicity, such double dealing, is much to be condemned but it is not unknown in the history of politics. This Unity Board goes to the press saying that it has nominated Maulvi Badi-uz-Zaman of

Bihar and Orissa. Maulvi Badi-uz-Zaman is thus compelled to go to the public press and say that he has no knowledge whatsoever of this so-called adoption by the Unity Board and that he has never asked for it, nor does he desire it. This Unity Board perpetrates a similar fraud in giving out that Dr. Ziauddin is also adopted by them. Dr. Ziauddin tells all his friends that he has got nothing whatsoever to do with the Unity Board. He never signed their creed, nor did he apply to them for being adopted as a candidate; that if the Unity Board is for rejecting the White Paper *in toto*, they will find him as their most inveterate enemy. Similarly, men like Syed Murtaza Sahib are standing on their own and the Unity Board has got nothing to do with them. As a matter of fact, all these men hold the creeds of the Conference and the League, and the Unity Board's efforts to engage the attention of the Muslim public as an institution which is doing something is most pathetic, and were it not for the indulgence of the Muslim public the Unity Board would cease to exist in name in the same way that it does not exist in fact.

There is another institution which is being encouraged by the Congress to be independent of the great Muslim community, and this is called the Ahrars. Until now they have not been an indepedent party. They have been more or less the leftwingers of the Conference and the League. They gave their support to the Nehru Report long ago, but then they were conscientious enough to condemn it later on. It is hoped that they will not commit the mistake of cutting themselves asunder from the Conference and the League but will remain within the fold. If by any chance they do so, then Muslim interest must take precedence over everything else.

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17. Present-day Muslim Mentality.

It is much to be regretted that the Muslim organisations are out of action at present while extremely important questions are being discussed and are approaching decision.

There are certain matters relating to the reformed constitution in which Muslims are very directly concerned. Their provisional decision, as given in the White Paper, is absolutely unsatisfactory to them and even prejudicial to the decision of other points of vital importance, and yet the Muslim community is making no effort to obtain a just and fair decision of these points. Under this category fall points like these—

(*a*) Mode of representation of Muslims in the Upper Federal Chamber. The position in the White Paper is admittedly unsatisfactory. Proportional representation does not give Muslims the representation to which they are, according to the decision of His Majesty's Government, entitled. Why are they being refused separate representation like the one which is given to Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians?

(*b*) Nominated element in the Upper Federal Chamber—

There is no guarantee that Muslims will have one-third share in it, or for the matter of that, any share in it. Supposing for the sake of argument that no Muslim is nominated, then obviously the proportion of one-third allowed to Muslims, why even that is jeopardised?

(*c*) The same remark applies to the element of nomination in the constitution of Upper Federal Chambers of Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

There are several other matters.

There are matters of common interest with other communities, *e.g.*, provincial autonomy which is being seriously threatened by the opposition of the Die-hard section of Conservatives in England. Whether in the matter of finance or delay or whittling down responsibility in many ways, Muslim organisations are taking no action. It is much to the credit of the Muslim press that they keep the flag flying. All credit to them, but the Muslim organisations are asleep and need being awakened.

The political situation in India itself—

The Congress is thinking hard what to do. The Indian Muslim policy has been to have nothing to do with the Congress as long as the Congress goes on with the civil disobedience programme. In view of the attack on Indian reforms by the Die-hard Conservatives, Indian Muslims and non-Congress Hindus have to consider to what extent it is necessary for them to join hands and set up an agitation against the whittling down of the White Paper and in the hope of getting some improvement made in the White Paper.

The present-day Muslim mind is unoccupied, lethargic, suspicious. It is dissatisfied with its leaders; and as to leaders, they are more concerned with internal and factional jealousies than in pushing forward any cause, whether communal or national. Disruptive tendencies are on the increase. What is needed is a calm and cool consideration of the situation, a searching self examination, an honest scrutiny of one's own mind, and a supreme effort to rise to the height of the occasion and do the right.

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18. Muslim League/Conference Politics.

(i) 1931 (Amalgamation of Muslim League and Conference)

(ii) 1932 (Muslim League's history and achievements summarised).

(iii) 1934 (Office-bearers of the Muslim League).

18—(i) Amalgamation of Muslim League and Conference.

All-India Muslim League.

During the last three years or so, the All-India Muslim League was working very well in harmony with sister All-India Muslim institutions like the All-India Muslim Conference. The way the two institutions co-operated was very creditable to both and was of very great help in promoting the political welfare of Indian Muslims.

The co-operation between the two—common ideals, common policy, common method of work, and very largely common workers, all combined, led to the idea of amalgamation.

Chaudhuri Zafrulla Khan, President of the All-India Muslim League, resigned his office because he was appointed officiating member

for Education, Health & Lands in the Government of India. This vacancy was filled last December by the election of Mian Abdul Aziz, and this has been most unfortunate, for when the scheme of amalgamation came up, Mian Abdul Aziz secured the help of the Delhi representatives and obstructed amalgamation. Since then, incidents connected with the all-India Muslim League have been most unfortunate and deplorable, and the latest move on the part of Mian Abdul Aziz of holding a meeting at the house of Malik Barkat *Ali*, Lahore, alleging it to be a meeting of the Council of the League, is probably the most deplorable incident of all.

The time has now come when the *members of the Council of the* League should take the matter in hand and bring this disgraceful Chapter to a close. Does Mian Abdul Aziz possess the confidence of the Council of the League or not ? He seems to claim that he does. Those whom he calls the Delhi group and many others allege that he does not, and that he has been censured more than once. If Mian Abdul Aziz is right in his estimate of the support he has in the Council of the League, the constitutional course for him to adopt is to tender his resignation to the Council and offer himself for election as soon as an election is going to be held. This is the only way in which he can vindicate his position consistently with propriety and dignity. His opponents may claim that by his conduct he has vacated his office, but these are the questions into which it will serve no useful purpose to inquire. If Mian Abdul Aziz does not act in the way indicated above, members of the Council of the League may feel called upon to advise him to adopt that course.

I. District United Muslim League Conference Organisation

(1) Elected representatives on Central and Provincial Legislatures, present and past.

(2) Elected representatives on District Boards and representatives of elected members of Municipal Committees to the extent of ordinarily one-half of the members of the District Boards. Under this head, only those who are members of the existing Local Bodies be taken.

(3) Representatives of local Muslim Associations doing political work—25% of (1) and (2) above.

(4) Members co-opted by (1) and (2) above — 25% of (1) and (2).

II. Provincial Organization :

(1) Elected representatives on Central and Provincial Legislatures, present and past.

(2) Representatives of Local Bodies (District Boards and Municipal Committees)—33% of (1).

(3) Representatives of District Associations—33% of (1). Where they do not exist, members to be co-opted by (1) and (2) above.

(4) Representatives of Provincial Muslim Organizations, *e. g.*, Jamiat Ulema, Khilafat Conference, Provincial Tabligh Association, etc.—33% of (1).

It is to be noted that all members should be prepared to accept the creed of the Organization, or, in the alternative, representation under (4) will have to be materially reduced.

Note—

In case (4) is not manageable, the percentage of (2) and (3) to be increased to 50% each.

III. Central Organization :

(1) Members of Central Legislatures, past and present.

(2) Representatives of Provincial Organizations—50% of (1).

(3) Co-option by (1) and (2)—50% of (1).

IV. How to effect amalgamation af League and Conference :

(1) In the Districts, (Provincial and Central Organizations), members of the League to be taken under the co-option clause.

(2) Executives of organizations, on the same principle.

V. Subscription :

District	...	Rs. 3/- per annum.
Provincial	...	Rs. 6/- per annum.
Central	...	Rs. 12/- per annum.

It should be noted that all these are bodies recruited by indirect election. The membership, therefore, is limited.

18—(ii) Muslim League's History and Achievements, 1934-35.

1. The All-India Muslim League, you are the first and the oldest Muslim political *Institution of the Indian Muslims.* There were others before you but they were not out and out political.

2. The League has had a stormy history. Its foundations were laid when quarrels had to be composed amongst its founders, and after nearly a quarter of a century, similar quarrels are said to exist. Well, all those troubles were tided over, and I have no doubt this will also be tided over.

3. In 1916-17, the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress were working together in close co-operation. The Reforms scheme was theirs. The matter of representation of communities in Legislatures was settled by agreement, and the mode of representation was settled by agreement, and the co-operation between the two was so strong that no forces, however strong, were successful in separating them. This co-operation led to the Reforms Act of 1919 being passed before you could twinkle your eye. Compare it with the protracted labours this time, and then you have a wonderful illustration of the benefits of the people of India working together.

4. In 1921, non-co-operation disrupted the Congress. It disrupted the Muslim League, and it disrupted India, and the spirit of non-co-operation has done untold mischief to the people of India in the present and to India of the future.

5. In 1924, the All-India Muslim League held its session in Lahore and passed the well-known Resolution, from which emerged what later on were called the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah, or the irreducible demands of Indian Muslims incorporated in the Conference Resolution of 1929.

After all His Majesty's Government's decision as to the matter of representation of Muslims in Legislatures is nothing very much different from what was settled by the two great institutions of the Indian people nearly 20 years ago. There may be a little alteration here or a little alteration there, but *substantially they* are the same. It is only in the case of Bengal that there is an appreciable advance of Muslim representation; but all who were in the negotiations at the time, in particular Mr. Jinnah, have assured all their friends that it was clearly understood at the time that Bengal Muslims were being given a very small percentage then on the understanding that as Bengal Muslims begin to take interest in politics, their representation will be made adequate.

6. Ever since 1929, the League and the Conference have worked hand in hand and have produced excellent effect. It is true that since the last few months there have been regrettable incidents, but then exuberance of spirit or the desire to have some fun may be the cause of it. I have no doubt that both sides will realise that a joke can be put too far and fun may become too expensive. I have no doubt both parties will talk the matter out and arrive at a sensible settlement. I wish the League to be united, and I wish it a long and prosperous life, and I wish it every success in the future.

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18—(iii) Office-bearers of the Muslim League, 1934-35.

The All-India Muslim League :

1. Many members of the Council have assured me that all concerned have arrived at an agreed decision as to the Cabinet for the League, and I heartily approve of it. You

seem to be surprised. Perhaps, naturally, because one had read such a great deal in the public press about the two Leagues and the problem of their amalgamation. On my going into the matter, I found to my great surprise that there was no such thing as two Leagues and amalgamation and other such difficult problems. Some of the members of the Council of the League have been in a holiday mood and amusing themselves by playing at League formation. I believe they find that they have had enough of it and wish now to return to work. I welcome this resolve on their part.

2. Sir Muhammad Yakub has done very good work for several years in the League, and I am sure you will agree with me that he deserves that we place on record our appreciation of it.

3. Now as to the agreed Cabinet. It is one to which all have agreed and which has my warmest support.

President...Mr. Jinnah (subject to his approval being obtained). His great political knowledge and acumen are so well known to you all that it is hardly necessary for me to even mention them. There is very little of Indian politics worth knowing that he does not know. The League needs his great personality to make it into an effective organization. I am sure you wish me to persuade him to give his assent. I will do my best.

Secretary...Hafiz Hidayat Husain, M. L. C., a veteran political worker of sterling worth. He obtains a chance to work in an All-India organization and with you I wish him every success, and I believe if you accord him that support to which, as Secretary, he is entitled, with his previous record, he should make a success of it.

He has got 3 Joint Secretaries to assist him.

1. Khan Bahadur S. M. Abdullah, from Delhi.
2. Mr. Anwar-ul-Azim, M. L. A., from Bengal.
3. Mr. Maswood Ahmad, M. L. A., from Bihar.

I wish the new Cabinet every success.

19. Ahrar Party and its Creed, 1934-5.

The so-called Ahrar Party :

1. What is it? Is it a provincial or all-India Party? If the latter, has it any provincial branch? Who are its office-bearers? What following has it? Has it any rules, any reports?

2. Ahrar is the name which some of the Congress Muslims, who have left the Congress, like to use on the ground that they do not belong to the League and the Conference, which are too mild for their taste. This shows that these men claim to be, like the Congress, anti-Government, and, like the Congress, anti-communal. It was believed that they derived their support, including funds, from the Congress and similar sources. They indulge in professions of being defenders of Muslim interest so as to obtain a footing in the Muslim masses and appeal to their fanaticism when necessary.

3. Their past—

(*a*) *Hijrat* :

They were then called Khilafatists.

(*b*) *Services* :

They made Muslims resign Government service and also persuaded institutions to give up affiliation to Government institutions and further persuaded Muslim pupils to leave their schools and colleges. Thus, they did a great deal of harm to the Muslim community.

(*c*) *States* :

Kashmir, Kapurthala—Wherever they have gone, they have created disruption in Muslim ranks.

(*d*) In British India, they are, with the Congress, anti-religious; they are, with communists, anti-religious. With extreme orthodox Muslims, they are extreme sectarians; thus rousing opposition to Ahmadis.

They are a queer mixture.

4. Their present position is one of the dangerous unemployed, and they look out for some mischief. Their tendency is to create disruption in Muslim community and thus injure its solidarity.

Their zeal outruns their sense. Their enthusiasm outruns their intelligence. They threaten to become a menace to the Muslim community.

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20. Gandhi, Congress and Civil Disobedience—

(i) 24 November 1932 (on Gandhi'sRelease)

(ii) 1933 (Gandhi's decision to stick to Civil Disobedience and its Effect on Reform)

(iii) 1933 (On Gandhi's Re-arrest)

(iv) 20 June 1933 (Suspension of Congress Civil Disobedience and Release of Prisoners)

(v) (On attempt at Gandhi's Life at a function at Poona Municipality)

(vi) 23 March 1934 (Revival of Congress prestige due to Bihar Earthquake—Government Efforts to counteract it)

(vii) 1934 (Assembly Election, 1934 : Congress Fund Collection for Bihar Floods and Earthquake)

(viii) 1934 (Floods in Orissa, Government Relief Work and Gandhi)

20—(i) On Gandhi's Release, 24 November 1932.

Gandhi's Release—

1. Release should take place by order as his confinement took place by order. and not as a result of any negotiations with him or with the Congress.

2. When should he be released ?—

(*a*) Defiance of law (to contend which recourse was had to Ordinances) is considerably reduced—when convictions are not more than 500 under Ordinances, in a month.

(*b*) After completion of legislation, both provincial and central, replacing Ordinances, which means about the end of December.

(*c*) After expiry of Ordinances, which means early January.

Release will thus be based on defiance of law in pursuance of the creed of civil disobedience movement having been brought under control, legislatures of the country having passed the necessary laws to bring similar manifestations of civil disobedience under control if resorted to again, assurances given by those who follow constitutional methods that they can pursue their normal political activities without hindrance by institutions which have discarded constitutional methods.

The following precautionary measures will help formation of a political school of thought which will help the introduction and working of reforms—

(*a*) encourage "Buy India" Leagues through provincial Governments and their Ministers but enforce strictly fresh legislation against peaceful picketing.

(*b*) Insist upon constitutional action even in the case of depressed class reforms, *i.e.*, whatever is to be done should be done—

(*i*) if it involves change of law, through legislatures;

(*ii*) if it involves determination of civic rights, *i.e.*, including the right to worship, the right to wells, etc., through law courts or Government officials, and not tolerate any direct action at any stage.

The list of other Regulation prisoners should be examined with a view to their release.

Whether prisoners under the Ordinances or under the ordinary law but with reference to civil disobedience offences should be released or not—No decision should be arrived at on this point, and we should see to what extent the Regulation prisoners released respond to the action suggested above. If they remain on the war path, Government will not be called upon to release the prisoners. If, on the other hand, they do not resume their civil disobedience activities for say a fortnight and do not indulge in speeches and writings, indicating war mentality, their release in a suitable manner might be undertaken, *e.g.*, of those who have already undergone three-fourths of their punishment; and later on, of those who have no more than a month to run and so on.

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20—(ii) Gandhi's Decision to Stick to Civil Disobedience and its effect an Reforms, 1933.

Gandhi is reported to have decided to stick to civil disobedience movement and, under the threat of its resumption, to ask the Viceroy for an interview so as to negotiate terms of settlement between the Congress and the Government. This is regrettable, and, probably, the Viceroy cannot but refuse such an interview. It is, however, for the consideration of the peace-loving people who believe in constitutional agitation as to what they can do not only to ventilate their views but to press them with full force on His Majesty's Government. At present, His Majesty's Government appear to have no views of their own and appear to be inclined to whittle down the White Paper to meet the wishes of the unreasonable Die-hard section of the Conservative Party. Can the Conservative elements in India fight the Die-hard Conservatives of Britain on their own or in alliance with the Congress?—This is the question which is troubling the minds of the conservative elements in the Indian public life.

20—(iii) On Gandhi's Re-arrest, 1933.

Gandhi's arrest—

Indian Muslims will sympathise with Mr. Gandhi on his recent arrest and on the arrest of the members of his Ashram, but they cannot say that the news has caused them any surprise. The present policy of the Congress for many reasons has not achieved the success that was expected of it. The non-participation of Muslims is probably not an insignificant cause of this failure, and the Congress policy of over-riding Muslim views is believed to be responsible for present predicament of India. What should be done? What India needs most is a complete abandonment of the present programme, absolute freedom to take such action as the circumstances demand, and the formulation of such programme as is most effective without there being any commitments in favour or against a particular item of political work.

20—(iv) Suspension of Congress Civil Disobedience and Release of Prisoners, 20 June 1933.

Congress and Civil Disobedience Prisoners :

1. The suspension of civil disobedience is to continue till the 31st of July.

Government has already expressed its views that suspension is not tantamount to abandonment, and, therefore, no further statement from Government is necessary or called for.

2. Suspension on 8th of May 1933 was decided upon by the Congress on its own initiative and was not the result of negotiations direct or indirect.

3. Suspension by the acting President was effective, *i.e.*, such activities as did exist during April and the preceding months were given up.

4. That suitable action in the matter of civil disobedience prisoners was being taken by local Governments in most of the provinces and during the period of suspension that action was being more or less expedited. The number of prisoners on 31st of May probably will be about eight thousand.

5. What should be done now? As stated above, Government is not called upon to enter upon negotiations or even issue communiques or statements, but it should take suitable action on its own for the following reasons:

(*a*) Because during the last two months, civil disobedience has been suspended.

(*b*) During the several months preceding suspension, civil disobedience was at a very low ebb.

(*c*) The political atmosphere during the last four or five months has been appreciably quieter than during the preceding six months.

(*d*) The requisite laws are on the Statute Book and adequate machinery for the enforcement of those laws is also in order.

Therefore, if during the next five weeks most of these prisoners are released, this will be an independent action of Government on its own initiative because the need for detaining these men no longer exists. They will be released because it is not worthwhile to detain them. This step which is in exercise of the prerogative of the Executive has in support of it the argument of economy, and the convenience of releasing in batches.

6. How should it be done?

(a) All those whose terms expire at or about the 31st of August should be released by the end of June.

(b) As to the rest, the local Governments be asked what objection, if any, is there to these being released in four batches during the course of the month of July. By the end of July, not more than two thousand should remain in jail, and in no province more than 500. These can be realeased during the course of August if the position remains as at present.

7. This is the scheme of spreading releases over three months when there is no Civil Disobedience activity in existence. Probably, it means expediting releases by two or three months only. It establishes the principle—no releases in the future till after the movement is crushed. Moreover, the machinery to control Civil Disobedience is there and can be put into motion at a moment's notice.

8. As regards Regulation prisoners, as a general rule, all should be released:

(a) Long term: As every month passes, a review of conditions justifying their detention is called for.

(b) Present conditions differ very widely from the conditions prevailing at the time action under the Regulation was taken.

(c) In case there is a revival, or in case the men released misbehave, action against them can be taken both under the law as well as under the Regulation; preferably

under the law, because the atmosphere is not such as to justify action under the Regulation. In very exceptional circumstances, Government can retain some of them.

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20—(v) On attempt at Gandhi's Life at a Function at Poona Municipality, 1933-34.

Gandhi thinks that a bomb thrown five minutes before his expected arrival at Poona Municipality's address function was intended for him and that probably some Sanatanist fanatic is responsible for it, and that there is an organisation behind that fanatic. He reminds the organisation that such outrages will lend strength to the cause against which they are perpetrated. There is a good deal of truth in these comments of Gandhi; and when we compare them with his comments on outrages perpetrated by terrorists against Government servants—British and Indian—one is struck by the change of views and tone. In the past, the crime was condemned but the motive which led the hero to commit it was praised, and Government was reminded that it is responsible for having brought into being those who feel compelled to commit such outrages. One is again reminded of the outrages committed by fanatically minded Hindus against Muslims in connection with cow sacrifice. Many a Muslim has been cruelly murdered by the Hindu fanatics because he dared to perform what he (the Muslim victim) considered his religious duty, and leading Hindus, after conviction and sentence, memorialised Government to release the prisoners or to commute the death sentence of the culprit because the motive behind the offence was religious. It was never, either in the case of murder of British people or in the case of murder of Muslims, stated that the case for which these victims are murdered is bound to prosper because of these outrages. Is it that only the cause of Harijans is likely to prosper and not the cause of the British who die in the discharge of their duties in serving India, and the Muslims who die in the discharge of their religious duties? Gandhi's teaching of non-violence has produced a bumber crop of violence of thought, of

language and of action throughout the country. He, perhaps, did not intend that this result should follow, but then the way to a very hot and uncomfortable place is paved with good intentions.

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20—(vi) Revival of Congress Prestige due to Bihar Earthquake—Government Efforts to counteract it, 23 March 1934.

Providential Help to the Congress through Earthquake.

1. Congress activities were at an end at the commencement of the year 1934 and hopes of revival in the near future were not entertained by the most sanguine Congress men. The earthquake came on the 15th of January. The Bihar Government released Rajendra Prasad on the 16th. A week or so later, he started a fund of his own—a fund parallel to the Viceroy's Fund. The Governor of Bengal contributed to the Mayor of Calcutta's Earthquake Fund. Thus, the foundation of the Congress co-operation with Government in the matter of earthquake was laid. Later, the Congress workers began to gravitate to Bihar, and eventually Gandhi went there and started his triumphal procession.

2. Rajendra Prasad's fund had grown rapidly. It had been contributed to by the Local Body, the mills, and even by Government servants.

3. The Congress activities are bound to lead to the rehabilitation of the Congress in public esteem, and this will have been achieved through Government co-operation.

4. Now that the Congress is doing no harm to the people—no picketting being done; no subscriptions are being collected; no public meetings are broken up by the Congress volunteers; therefore, all those activities which the public disliked have ceased to exist and the Congress men now appear in the garb of people who are distributing money gratis and are proving themselves to be friends in need, and Government is promoting this rehabilitation.

5. Gandhi like a wise man has dropped the Harijan work which he was believed to be committed to doing till at least next August.

He has quickly switched off to earthquake work and is bound to exploit it for all it is.

6. What should be done under the circumstances? The only thing, under these circumstances, to do is to prevent Government and the Congress working as parallel organisations for purposes of relief and thus giving opportunities for being compared as parallel agencies for good work. It would be best if Government were to organise non-official committees in small areas and placed them under large non-official committees to do the distribution work and the relief work just like the Congress, and Government to stand behind these committees and help them so that the afflicted people may know that besides the Congress there are other institutions which are also doing good work and that, comparatively speaking, Government looks with more favour on these pro-Government committees than on the Congress.

This will enable Government to assume the position supervising the activities of the two parallel organisations, the Congress itself doing relief work and pro-Government political bodies doing relief work, and Government supervising them both.

7. Government should take up propaganda and give to the public what has been done by Government already and what these committees organised by Government are doing. If this is not done, the result will be that either Government will have to surrender earthquake activities to the Congress or do it badly, or be only an organisation parallel to the Congress organisation doing this work.

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20—(vii) Assembly Election, 1934; Congress Fund Collection for Bihar Floods and Earthquake, 1934.

Sometimes ago Mr. Sherwani complained that the Congress gives Muslims no respite. His complaint is in a tone which is slightly different from the tone he adopted in the past. It is probably due to the fact that he is trying to stand in a Muslim constituency. Sherwani was a good conscientious worker. Had he remained within Muslim politics and served his community, he would

have been a tower of strength to it, and there would have been no question of his being welcomed by any Muslim constituency. Having sown tares, he cannot expect to reap wheat. The way to hell is paved with good intentions. He must get what he deserves. His actions have tried to injure Muslim interests, and even now he aims at injuring Muslim interests, and no Muslim constituency can afford to let him do it.

Bihar floods—

Last January when the earthquake overtook Bihar, something like [Rs.] 35 lakhs or so were proclaimed by the Congress press to be in Babu Rajendra Prasad's Bihar earthquake fund. The Indian public has been asking from time to time as to how much money out of this fund has been spent on the earthquake relief works in Bihar. No answer has been forthcoming. One would have expected a man of the eminent position of Babu Rajendra Prasad amongst Indian leaders that he would have vouchsafed a reply. His integrity is beyond question; his honesty has never been doubted; but in politics what one expects is, [as] in business and financial matters, a clear and precise statement. What was the total money collected ? How much of it has been spent on earthquake relief works ? And how much is the balance in hand ? Bihar is suffering from a great trouble due to floods. Babu Rajendra Prasad is busy with Congress elections. Does the damage done by floods carry no message to him ? Is the money in hand to be stored and saved and not spent on the relief of the poor who have suffered so terribly from floods ? If the Indian public receive such rude shocks from the Congress is it any wonder that the public should draw in their hands and refuse to be charitable in the future ?

Then, what about Mahatma Gandhi's fund for the untouchables? What is the extent of that fund ? Has it been spent on any work ? If not, are there any proposals for spending it ? Is it one of the peculiarities of Mahatma Gandhi that the public should not know how the money collected from the public is being spent ?

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20—(viii) Floods in Orissa, Government Relief Work and Gandhi, 1934.

Gandhi at Bombay has appealed for relief of flood-stricken people in Orissa and stated that he wants to do relief work there.

Andrews is also working for relief of distress of flood-stricken people in Orissa. Mr. B. Das, M.L.A., at Delhi, had made a similar statement.

I understand Government has set up a Flood Relief Committee and I know that the Local Government has asked the Peoples' Famine Relief Fund Committee for assistance. This Committee is going to meet soon and help.

2. It is on such occasions that the Congress and its workers avail themselves of the opportunity to get into close and intimate contact with the people. Government machinery, as a rule, is not so elastic and informal as to be on intimate terms with the sufferers unless special pains are taken to secure that object.

I have some experience of the floods in the Punjab in the past and of the measures taken to afford flood relief. Experience showed that it was best not to have the whole work done direct by Government machinery but to utilise the Red Cross organization for this purpose. So the Red Cross organization constituted a Flood Relief Committee, of which the Chairman of the Red Cross, a Minister, was also Chairman of the Flood Relief Committee; and the Financial Commissioner (a Member of the Board of Revenue), Secretary. Funds given by the Indian Peoples' Famine Fund were given to this Committee, and the Committee was responsible for rendering accounts to the Central Committee. His Excellency the Governor was Patron of the Committee and all members of the Council of State and Assembly were invited to be members. This organization attended to the feeding of the needy, flood-stricken people, clothed them in *Khaddar*, and within limits gave them small assistance for their hut-building. Government, on their side, resorted to suspension of revenue demand and remission in other cases and also supplied loans for seed and cattle where necessary. The district machinery, official and non-official, was freely used and members of the Local Legislature

were asked to help. The Congress tried to butt in but without success. All those who were disposed to be charitable and wished to give funds were ready to give funds to a reliable institution like this rather than to any other organization whose credit in the public eye did not stand very high.

3. It is suggested that the Local Government be advised to avail itself of this opportunity of winning the confidence of the people and, certainly, of guarding against the possibility of the Congress or the Congressmen taking advantage of the present position of winning merit in the public estimation.

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21. On Democracy and Reforms: Outline of Speech at Legislators' Dinner, 1930—5.

1. Representativeness is the essence of democracy, and responsibility follows upon its heels.

2. It is extremely difficult to define representativeness, but in modern times low franchise is a modest way of discovering representatives.

3. In India, election and representation have been in existence for a long time in Municipal Boards and Local and District Boards.

You are the representatives of the people; undoubtedly the representatives of the enfranchised people. No one else can lay claim to even that measure of representativeness, and as such you have a right to speak on behalf of the country to a much greater extent than others till the country has replaced you by electing others.

Your Work :

In politics one should insist upon two things : (1) independence of judgment and tolerance; and (2) discipline. Your work is your own affair. As long as you and your party do it conscientiously, opinions must differ: the methods of attaining objectives must differ. What is vital is—act conscientiously, independently, tolerantly. Act in strict discipline to the orders of your own party and bear no grudge to your opponents, no matter how violently you may differ from them. This is tolerance.

But do not let me dogmatise. I am growing old, but I must not make the mistake of becoming dogmatic or dictatorial. I appreciate your kindly sentiments very much. I have done my best according to my lights to serve my country and my community. I claim no more.

What troubles has India passed through ? After a pleasant dinner, one would not like to be reminded of them. The 20th Century began well, with some advance in 1920, and that advance was quickly followed by the generous mood on the part of the British in 1919, although some of our idealistic and other go-aheads felt dissatisfied, but there was general satisfaction. Those were queer days. The Great War, the enunciation of wonderful principles of the great American President Wilson, had inflamed the imagination of the young all over the world.

Generous Mood :

Now, calculating mood, due to many causes, some for which India is responsible; others for which it is not.

As to the future, I am a confirmed optimist, and I wish you to be so. It is no use being a pessimist. It does not pay. You become a nuisance to yourself and others. India is in a peculiar position; and, subject to this, there is no limit to which it can rise. Providence has tied us up with Britain. Shall this tie be iron fetters, silken cords or the wireless. I do not know your predilections, but I am for the wireless.

Reforms :

What a raging controversy has been going on for years and years ! It is impossible to contribute anything new, or even funny about it, and impossible to give a summary of its various stages. What should then be done ? Appeal to the good sense of the British public. Let our best men in India bring the people of India closer to each other in work and not in theory; in practice and not in speeches; in common effort to serve mankind, and not separatist movements which go far far deeper than any system of electorates does.

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22. On Pamphlet, 'Punjab Politics' and Unionism in the Punjab, 1936.

My friend, Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Chhotu Ram's spirited defence of his Party is being produced in the form of a pamphlet, and at the request of my friend, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daulatana, I am writing a few lines to serve as a foreword.

I believe the student of Punjab politics will find this pamphlet interesting. I can hardly lay claim to be the founder of the Party, or to have made an original contribution to political thought, or to have been a man of remarkable genius for organization. I believe the party and I both were the creatures of great political forces at work, and it pleased Providence to knit together men of different races, religions and points of view to serve the Land of the Five Rivers with the object of uplifting the lowly, supporting the weak, and promote the levelling-up process. It is often said that a certain measure of success has been achieved in the Punjab. If so, the credit for it must go to the great Party which strove hard to do its duty. For me, the work has been one of very great pleasure indeed. The programme of work was practically put into my hands by the great Congress movement, and it is one of the numerous aspects of political life that the Congress programme should have been carried out in the Punjab by a Party on which the Congress has not been known to have showered its blessings.

I trust the Party will continue to be Unionist in the sense that members of all religions and races will find their place in it. Its capacity for serving the province will be considerably reduced if it failed in this respect. There is unlimited scope for good work, and there are great possibilities for those who are prepared to work hard and give of their best. It has not been possible for me to render any assistance to this great Party since April 1930, but I have always watched its working with very great interest, and I trust there is a future before it—greater, nobler and more glorious than its past.

23. Palestine[1]

Facts :

The Mandate was to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine, while protecting Arab interests.

Since the Mandate this policy has been earried out, and the population in 1922 and November, 1931, stands as below :

	1922	November 1931
Muslims	590,890	759,952
Jews	83,794	175,006
Christians	82,498	90,607

This will show that while the Jews and Christians in 1922 were roughly speaking the same number, the Jews were, in November 1931, nearly double the number of Christians. Immigration of Jews has been considerable. It is under two heads : (1) under State control ; (2) illicit. Since November 1931 immigration of Jews on a large scale has taken place, in particular, in 1933 on account of Nazi administration in Germany.

2. *Culturable area available for Arabs* :

A large area and, qualitatively, the best culturable area has been purchased by the Jews; and while the culturable area in the possession of Arabs has thus considerably decreased, the Arab population has gone up, with the result that the culturable area per head has thus been very much reduced. Keeping in view the comparatively poor quality of the land in possession of the Arabs, and the average per head of culturable area being considerably less than in the case of the Jews, it is obvious that there is no room for further acquisition of culturable land by Jews from Arabs. Again, the Jewish population having been more than doubled between 1922 and 1931, it is very likely that during the past two years and three months it has been

1. Enclosure of Willingdon to Samuel Hoare, 27 February 1934, Indian Office Library, Templewood Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 240/7 in which Willingdon wrote : 'Fazl-i-Husain has sent me a memorandum which will give you the general views of Muslims out here on the Palestine situation. I think you will like to see it because it will show you that the feeling among the Muslims here is quite likely before long to boil up'.

further increased substantially. The question arises: is this increase to go on indefinitely, and has not the time arrived when to put a stop to further immigration as a scheme of further promoting the establishment of a Jewish Home?

It appears that in 1920 an official Commission was constituted to report as to the minimum area needed for a family of five persons. That Commission arrived at the conclusion that the minimum area should be 34 acres. The area available for non-Jewish cultivators now as compared with their population would give eight acres for a family of five. It is, therefore, obvious that if the British administration is to carry out the Mandate of protecting Arab interests, there is no room whatsoever left for further acquisition of land by Jews from Arabs. In fact, it may, with justification, be said that that stage has long past, and to that extent Arab interests have not been protected.

3. Then there is the question whether Jewish immigration should continue or be stopped. It is obvious that illicit Jewish immigration should be strictly prohibited, and, when detected, should be met by repatriation.

As to the control of Jewish immigration, it should be suspended and an enquiry set afoot whether the stage in the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine has not been reached where further immigration cannot be permitted without prejudicing the carrying out of the second part of the Mandate, *i.e.*, protecting Arab interests, as well as in the interest of the Jewish population itself. It is urged that the absorptive capacity of the country has already been reached and that immigration of all kinds should be suspended till a Committee makes a report on this point.

4. To what extent have the interests of Arabs been protected? The sale of land by Arabs can hardly be said to be to improve Arab condition. As to employment, there has been an evergrowing unemployment among the Arabs, and this unemployment is accompanied by falling wages. The Jewish National Fund has purchased land in Palestine, and one of the conditions of the Fund is that this land be cultivated by Jews, with the result that the Arabs cannot

cultivate it, and the Jews who have the support of the Jewish world behind them may or may not care to cultivate it. Muslim discontent has been on the increase, and very naturally so. Losing lands by sale, unemployment on the increase, no Local Self-Government to speak of, Legislative Council and responsible Government still under consideration, Government service not available—Arab condition has continued to deteriorate; and now that these matters have come to the notice of the Muslims in India, the feeling has grown that Christian Europe is under financial obligations to the Jewish financial magnates, and its dictation is pursuing a policy of discharging its obligations to the Jewish magnates by depriving the Arabs of their hearths and homes and creating a situation which for years to come will be a source of trouble to the civilised world and create bitterness between the Muslims and the West. They feel that there is no justification for it, that this is not only wrong in principle but is not even expedient. They urge that there is time now to suspend the activities of the mandatory power in the matter of further Jewish immigration, and institute an enquiry and arrive at a decision.

It is claimed that the Arabs in Palestine are in the right; that any further prosecution of the scheme of establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine is bound to be resented not only in Palestine but throughout the Muslim world; that an agitation in support of this movement is bound to assume a religious aspect and appeal to the fanatically-minded people to a much larger extent than even the politically-minded people would like it to do. It is believed that during the course of 1934 agitation on the subject in India is likely to grow, and when it has gone on for some time, it is bound to become uncontrollable.

Fazl-i-Husain
24 February 1934

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cultivate it, and the Jews who have the support of the Jewish world behind them may [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Arabs [illegible] [illegible] Legislative Council and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] not [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] in India, the feeling [illegible] [illegible] damage [illegible] to the Jewish [illegible] [illegible] Arabs [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] between the Moslem and the West. They feel that [illegible] for [illegible] that is not even expedient. They urge that there is [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] power [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]

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